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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

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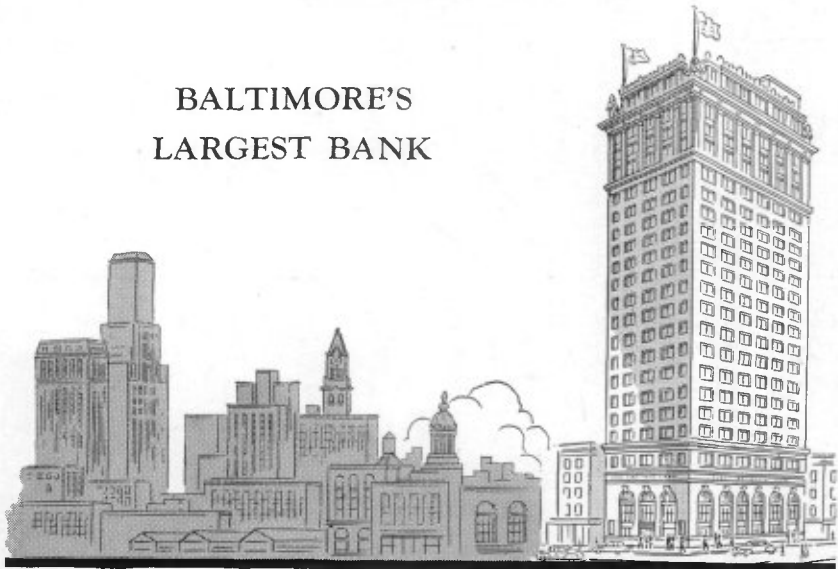
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1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, the *Archives of Maryland* and the record of Maryland in World War II under the authority of the State, and other serial and special publications.

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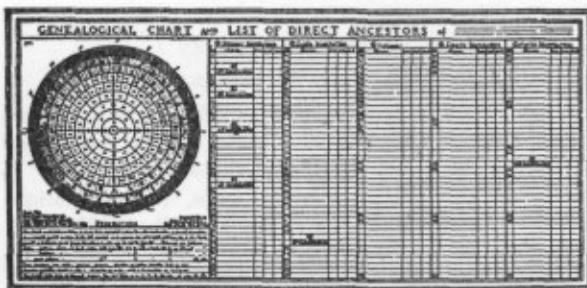
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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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NEW LIGHT ON THE *ARK* AND THE *DOVE*

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE VESSELS IN ENGLAND

THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING

BY BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE, A.I.A.

THE only known contemporary pictorial representations of the ships *Ark* and *Dove*, which sailed with Lord Baltimore's colonists for Maryland in 1633, were discovered recently during renovations to Hook House, near Tisbury, Wiltshire, in the south of England. These representations, employed as ceiling decorations, were first reported in the Society's *Maryland History Notes* for August, 1951, in the course of an account of his visit to Calvert haunts in England by the Director of the Society. The present writer at the request of the Society went to Hook House the following year and took J. Fowler Smith, artist and photographer, of Salisbury, Wilts., to make photographs of them and of Hook House.

A stone, Tudor style, minor manor house, Hook House stands in the Parish of Semley, Chalk Hundred, adjacent to Wardour Castle, since 1547 the seat of the Arundells of Wardour. The

Manor of Semley, containing Hook Farm, was purchased shortly after 1571 by Sir Matthew Arundell and Hook Farm has been held by this family ever since.¹

Sir Thomas Arundell (1560-1639), with Queen Elizabeth's permission, served under the Emperor Rudolph II of Germany against the Turks and distinguished himself at Gran, Hungary, by personally capturing their battle flag. For his services he was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1595, and James I made him Baron of Wardour. His third daughter by his second wife was Anne Arundell (1615-1649) who in 1628 married Cecil Calvert (1605-75), later second Lord Baltimore.² They received Hook Farm as her marriage portion and lived there. It was there that they planned the colonization of Maryland. Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, their son, was born in 1637. Anne died in 1649 and Hook House seems to have reverted to the Arundells.

With the death of John Francis, 15th Lord Arundell, from disease contracted in a Nazi prison, the title became extinct. His mother, who died a few years later, bequeathed the estate to a cousin, Reginald John Arthur Talbot, a direct descendant of the 9th Lord Arundell in both paternal and maternal lines. In 1946 King George VI issued a royal license allowing Mr. Talbot to assume the name and inherit the estates of the Arundells of Wardour.³ For a time Mr. Arundell lived in Wardour House (built c. 1768-76) but the expense of maintaining the eighty-eight rooms was too much in socialized Britain. Mr. Arundell leased it and renovated Hook House for his home.

While repairing "Lady Anne's Sitting Room" in the east wing, so named for Anne Arundell, Lady Baltimore, workmen discovered that the ceiling was false. Above it was found the beautifully modelled plaster ceiling commemorating the *Ark* and the *Dove* and the voyage to Maryland. It has been uncovered and repaired and is now in excellent condition. The ceiling is not dated but the initials "CC" (Cecil Calvert) and "AA" (Anne

¹ James Everard, Baron Arundell of Wardour, and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "Hundred of Dunworth and Vale of Noddre" in Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire* (London, 1822-1844), IV, 177.

² *Ibid.* See also Mrs. Arthur B. Bibbins, "The English Beginnings of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 283-308 (also separately published.) For an architectural account of Hook House see the article on "Baltimore House, Wiltshire" in Thomas Garner and Arthur Stratton, *Domestic Architecture of Tudor England* (London, 1929), I, 74, and Plate XXXVI.

³ Arundell family records at Hook House.

Arundell) in one of the panels would indicate that it was executed before Anne's death, thus placing it between 1633 and 1649. It certainly must have been completed before 1643 when Cromwell's forces besieged old Wardour Castle nearby.

The ceiling (see sketch) is approximately twenty feet square and made up of nine square panels, plus the rectangular monogram panel in an alcove. Probably due to the low ceiling height, which is just over eight feet, no ribs or beams drop below the plane of the ceiling. The cornice is kept to a minimum with no frieze. The running grapevine which is usually moulded as decoration on the soffits of double moulded ribs is in this instance used uniquely as panel edging, and there is a plain border between panels.⁴

The design is tasteful and restrained with somewhat the same character as a ceiling from the Old Palace, Bromley by Bow, which has been transferred to the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁵ It has the freshness of the early 17th century Scottish ceilings, as at Pinkie House, Musselburgh, Midlothian (1613) and Wintoun House, Pencaitland, Haddingtonshire (c. 1620), which though usually ribbed and sometimes pendentive achieve their effect by careful placing of flora and fauna, arabesques, medallions, etc., on the otherwise unadorned panel surfaces.⁶ The English ceilings of this period were usually patterns of "strapwork," (Park Hall, Shropshire, c. 1640) ⁷ or of large panels well filled with low relief decoration (Ashton Hall, Birmingham).⁸

The *Ark* and the *Dove* which are repeated diagonally in the centers of the corner panels were probably modelled *in situ* from sketches made from the vessels themselves.⁹ It is of interest that the *Ark* is viewed from port quarter and the *Dove* broadside. This was in order to keep the different sized ships similar in scale and mass as medallions. The use of ships in such designs is unusual and whereas these are not as clearly detailed as one executed in a wreath in the East Range of Canonbury Place,¹⁰ London (1599),

⁴ George P. Bankart, *The Art of the Plasterer* (London, 1909), pp. 87-169, 220-278.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180.

⁷ Laurence Turner, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (London, 1927), pp. 106-109.

⁸ Bankart, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

⁹ William Miller, *Plastering, Plain and Decorative* (London, 1905), pp. 246 ff.

¹⁰ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

they have a more adventurous character and riding on stylized waves in a plaster sea, appear to be "en route."

Two of the panels are occupied by designs that seem to represent mammiferous whales. These also lend a nautical air and were doubtless intended to indicate the maritime nature of Calvert's enterprise in Maryland. They recall similar marine life found on the ceilings in Emral Hall, Flintshire (c. 1647) and the Fish Room, Audley End, Essex (c. 1615).¹¹ It is probable that the fleur-de-lys and Tudor rose in other panels have no historical significance as they are found so often elsewhere.

The monogram panel has a sentimental central embellishment with two doves eating a bunch of grapes. This was cast in a mould and is identical with several on the ceiling from Sir Paul Pindar's House, Bishopsgate, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹²

A central arabesque of scrolled leafage and the female half-figures emerging from foliage are indications of the influence of the great Inigo Jones (1572-1652), who studied architecture in Italy and is credited with bringing the Renaissance to England,¹³ and also with designing Kiplin, Cecil Calvert's boyhood home in Yorkshire.¹⁴

That this fine ceiling has been preserved through the centuries is due to the efforts of the Arundells of Wardour. Protecting their possessions has not been easy. Sir Thomas, 2nd Lord Arundell of Wardour (Anne Arundell's half brother), was an eminent Loyalist and died from bullet wounds received while serving Charles I. In 1643 his wife, Lady Blanche Somerset (daughter of Edward, Earl of Worcester) gallantly defended Wardour Castle with twenty-five servants for nine days against the attack by the Parliamentary forces under Ludlow. Her son, Henry, 3rd Lord Arundell, in turn besieged General Ludlow and himself sprang the mine which unseated Ludlow but also wrecked Wardour Castle.¹⁵ Oliver Cromwell ordered the estates forfeited.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176; Bankart, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹² Bankart, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹³ H. Inigo Triggs and Henry Tanner, *Some Architectural Works of Inigo Jones* (London, 1901), *passim*; Guy C. Rothery, *Ceilings and Their Decoration* (New York, 1911), pp. 194-206; Albert Gotch, *Early Renaissance Architecture in England* (London, 1914), p. 6, 44, 71, 81, 138, 302; and Bibbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.

¹⁴ Bibbins, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

¹⁵ Everard and Hoare, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-168.

However, at the sale, Anne's brother-in-law, Humphrey Weld, managed to buy them on behalf of the family.¹⁶

May the spirit of the Abbess of Wilton, who owned this land in 955,¹⁷ be with us in the hope that this ceiling will continue in good hands and be preserved as a memorial to Cecil Calvert and Anne Arundell, their colony of Maryland, and the strong bond between it and the Mother Country.

WHAT THE DESIGNS SHOW

By MARION V. BREWINGTON

The discovery of the four reliefs representing the *Ark* and the *Dove* is an event of very considerable importance to maritime historians and archeologists. First of all, these are the *only known contemporary representations* of any of the many vessels which brought the original settlers to the British North American colonies. No contemporary picture, model, or other representation of the *Mayflower*, the *Arabella*, the *Susan Constant*, the *Welcome*, etc., is known to exist.

Of the *Ark* as depicted on the ceiling little needs to be said. She evidently was a typical ship-rigged vessel of her period, perhaps with a somewhat larger quantity of carved decorations than usual. Her sail plan confirms the research done by the great English authority, Dr. R. C. Anderson, for the *Mayflower* model in Pilgrim Hall.

More important is the representation of the *Dove*. While the type of vessel known as a pinnace played an important part in the explorations and the settling of the Atlantic Coast, exactly what the sea-going pinnace (as opposed to those used on the coast or in protected waters) may have been, has never been established definitely. An engraving a half-century before the *Dove* shows one rigged as a three-masted ship, but the pinnaces used by Claiborne and sundry others coasting or within the Bay we know were small craft, one-masted, fore-and-aft-rigged. Other pinnaces

¹⁶ Charles Bowles and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "The Hundred of Chalk" in Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, IV, 27.

¹⁷ Rev. John Offer and Sir Richard C. Hoare, "The Hundred of Branch and Dale" in Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, II, 83.

were nothing more than row boats, perhaps with an auxiliary sailing rig. Since the *Dove* is clearly depicted as a two-masted, square-rigged craft, one concludes that the pinnacle was rigged according to size as the builder chose, and the name belonged to the hull rather than the rig. Probably it was one with a narrow beam in proportion to length, a design for speed rather than burden. Since this representation of the *Dove* was not known when the marine artist Griffith Baily Coale in 1948 did the mural of the arrival of the Virginia settlers at Jamestown for the State Capitol at Richmond, it is interesting to see that his research gave him the belief that the pinnacle *Discovery* carried a two-masted square-rig exactly like that which we see on the *Dove*.

It is hoped some careful marine artist using these plaster reliefs as a basis will produce a sound representation of the arrival of Lord Baltimore's colonists to replace the sailor's nightmares hitherto given us.

A LAND SPECULATOR IN THE OPENING OF WESTERN MARYLAND

By AUBREY C. LAND

IN American history the land speculator has appeared almost without exception as an unsavory type. His aims have been questioned and his methods excoriated, usually with justice. Even the actual settlers who themselves took up more land than they could use in the hope of selling their surplus acreage when values rose had few kind words for competitors with larger designs and ampler means and consequently able to do on a large scale what they did more modestly.¹ The traditional distaste of frontiersmen and small land owners for speculators runs far back into colonial history when the close association of large landholders with governors' councils and provincial land offices excited the envy of the less fortunately placed. Colonial squires who acquired immense tracts of wild lands through favor or by questionable dealings came very near the ideal of the speculator. Their grants were gratis, or nearly so, and future sales almost clear profit. Small wonder that these persons who did little more than exclude the worthy poor from desirable idle lands while their own unmerited profits mounted appeared something less than public benefactors.

Not all the owners of large tracts in the unsettled back country passively awaited the movement of pioneers toward their holdings. Some offered various kinds of encouragement—low prices, choice locations, protection from savages—to direct the fingers of settlement probing westward toward their vacant lands. Others offered much needed credit for purchasing and stocking the farms they sold. Though their motives were mercenary, these enterprising speculators were more than mere leeches fattening on the needs of the landless. To some degree they facilitated settlement within the framework of social and economic assumptions of their time.

Few acted with intentions as varied as Daniel Dulany (1685-1753) of Maryland and fewer still came as near performing a

¹ Professor Billington takes a more charitable view of the land speculator. Ray A. Billington, "The Land Speculator as a Frontier Type," *Agricultural History*, XIX, 204-212.

public service at the same time they improved their own personal fortunes. Dulany became aware of the potentialities of Western Maryland in the last decade of a busy and useful career. After he sensed the danger to the province of allowing the back country to remain unsettled and the fortune awaiting the person who would develop it, he set to work with vigor astonishing in a man of his years to correct the deficiency and to reap the rewards. Though he did not succeed in making good his ambitions to enlarge the western boundaries of Maryland, he did live to see a growing community established in the Monocacy valley and on to the northwest beyond the Catoctin hills, much of it on his own land or land he had sold. And, though he was unsuccessful in his territorial ambitions for the province, his contribution to developing Western Maryland had a more important result he had not anticipated. These outlying settlements provided the westernmost base for expeditions which set out for the forks of the Ohio during the struggle between England and France for the greater West in the French and Indian War. From Braddock's ill-fated march on through the war the Maryland settlers furnished horses, wagons, and teamsters for transporting supplies and baggage of expeditions crossing an area without navigable water routes.² Dulany had correctly estimated the profits to be made in western land and in the course of his operations he added a second fortune to an already substantial one he had accumulated in earlier years.

When Dulany threw himself into his "western project" in 1744 he had already achieved a degree of worldly success accorded few immigrants who arrived in the new world with only their native wits as working capital. He had read law and had advanced rapidly to the head of the profession. He had steadily acquired real property in the tidewater region since 1713 until his holdings totalled some 20,000 acres of plantations.³ As a partner in the lucrative Baltimore Iron Works he was part owner of many acres more of ore and timber lands. His close relation to the proprietary government of provincial Maryland in no way handicapped Dulany's land dealings. At various times he had held the offices of receiver general of revenues, attorney general, commissary gen-

² Not always willingly. Transportation equipment was ordinarily commandeered. *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 207, 211.

³ The extent of Dulany's investments in land throughout the province is indicated in Aubrey C. Land, "Genesis of a Colonial Fortune," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (1950), 266-67.

eral or judge of the probate court, and the chief judge of the court of vice admiralty. Finally in 1742 he was elevated to the Lord Proprietor's Council of State.⁴ Like his colleagues in the official family Dulany requested and received special favors in taking up vacant land.

In his early career, long before he had attained the ranks of the governing oligarchy, Dulany had acquired considerable land in Western Maryland. Sometime before 1721 he formed a partnership with Major John Bradford for the purpose of securing choice bottom lands along the Potomac. Although this area had been crossed by western travelers since the beginning of the century, it was insufficiently explored and not at all accurately represented on contemporary maps. Secretary Philemon Lloyd possessed a manuscript map, which he inscribed "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," with reasonably accurate locations for Indian towns and trails, and principal physiographic features, but nothing to indicate either the character of the soil or the extent of arable land. According to Lloyd's map, settlement did not extend far up the river which was shown to be, in his descriptive phrase, mostly "above ye inhabitants." Dulany's arrangement with Bradford took advantage of the Major's first hand knowledge of the Potomac valley gained in his dealings with the Indians of the area. From his country seat in Prince George's county, Major Bradford made excursions into the wilderness to locate the best lands and to have them surveyed. At the capital Dulany attended to securing warrants and suing out the final patents.⁵

Over the years of their partnership Dulany and Bradford acquired nearly 2,000 acres in tracts either bordering the Potomac or situated on islands in the river.⁶ Other enterprising landlords laid out plantations along the same convenient transportation route. Few took up land in the interior. Benjamin Tasker, planter and councillor, in 1727 received a patent to 7,000 acres, which he

⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, December 6, 1753.

⁵ William B. Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX (1935), 11; Edward B. Mathews, "Bibliography and Cartography of Maryland," *Maryland Geological Survey*, I (Baltimore, 1897), 385-87, and "Maps and Map-Makers of Maryland," *ibid.*, II (Baltimore, 1898), 351, 360, 363-65.

⁶ Patent Records, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber IL No. A, f. 150-51. The partners owned "Progress" (264 acres), "Long Acre" (104 acres), "Walnut Tree Island" (284 acres), "Seneca Landing" (104 acres), and "Concord" (1106 acres). Dulany also acquired the tract "Williamsborough" (1400 acres) in his name alone, Patent Records, Liber CE No. 1, f. 339-41.

called appropriately "Tasker's Chance," located on the west side of the Monocacy River about twelve miles overland from the Potomac.⁷ Dr. Charles Carroll, surgeon, merchant, and partner with Tasker and Dulany in the Baltimore Iron Works, also took sufficient interest in western land to propose that Lord Baltimore offer special inducements—lower quitrents and exemption from proprietary impositions for a period of time—to attract settlers into the back country. Dr. Carroll's many activities prevented his concentration on the west and after 1738 his outspoken opposition to the proprietary regime cut him off from special favors Baltimore and his provincial officials granted well-wishers.⁸ Apart from his properties bordering the Potomac, Dulany showed no enthusiasm for large scale operations in western lands. Long after Bradford's death he carved out an irregularly shaped chunk of interior land, "Dulany's Lot," 3,850 acres, across the Monocacy from Tasker's Chance. But he made no special effort to turn it to account for several years.⁹

In part this occasional interest in the vacant back country was a response to the growing scarcity of desirable land in the tide-water. But operations of Virginia speculators in the Shenandoah valley had suggested that similar opportunities on a smaller scale lay in the undeveloped and unsettled valleys of western Maryland. Pennsylvania Germans making their way to the Shenandoah grants of the Van Meters and Jost Hite had broken a trail across the Monocacy country as early as 1732. By 1739 this wagon route, the Monocacy Road, had become the principal avenue from the north to the Shenandoah.¹⁰ Some of the migrants who showed a disposition to stop before reaching the Valley of Virginia were prospective purchasers of farm lands.

Dulany was fortunately situated to do a small but profitable business supplying the Scotch, Welsh, and Pennsylvania Dutch

⁷ Patent Records, Liber PL No. 6, f. 559.

⁸ Memorial of Carroll to Governor Ogle, February 17, 1731/32, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IX (1914), 291-293. A full discussion of Dr. Carroll's activities in the west is given by R. Bruce Harley, "Dr. Charles Carroll—Land Speculator, 1730-1755," *ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 93-107.

⁹ The patent to Dulany's Lot issued April 7, 1737, Patent Records, Liber EI No. 2, f. 410-11.

¹⁰ T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, 4; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 57-58; St. George L. Sioussat, "Highway Legislation in Maryland, and its Influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey*, III (Baltimore, 1899), 127.

with farms. In the middle 1730s he had marked a combination of talents in a Yorkshire immigrant, Thomas Cresap, who had earned the distinctive title, the "Maryland Monster," for his exploits during the border troubles between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Beside his skill in dealing with Indians and directing a polyglot band of settlers in defense of their homes in the disputed zone, Cresap was a surveyor of sorts. When he moved west in 1737, Dulany put him in charge of laying out farms for any transients who cared to make Maryland their permanent habitation. By 1742 Cresap had settled permanently at an abandoned Indian village, Old Town, near the forks of the Potomac.¹¹ From this headquarters he scouted the western neck in search of choice land for himself and for Dulany. In his own name Cresap took out patents on a 500 acre tract, "Long Meadow," on Antietam Creek, and two adjacent pieces, "Addition to Long Meadow," and "West Addition to Long Meadow." For Dulany he surveyed smaller tracts to sell when purchasers appeared, making returns in his plastic orthography.¹²

As settlers moved into western Virginia and Maryland the question of exact boundaries, which had already cost proprietary officials much time and energy in the 1730s, seemed likely to be repeated. According to Lord Baltimore's charter, the northern border of the province ran westward "unto the true Meridian of the first Fountain of the River Pottowmack, thence verging toward the South, unto the further Bank of the said River," and down the river to the Chesapeake Bay.¹³ In early 1744 Dulany went to some pains to inform himself on the exact course of the Potomac and the location of the "first Fountain" from reports of recent explorations. Sometime in July he made a discovery of first importance. Without delay he reported it to Lord Baltimore.

Potomack River above the Mountains divides into two Large Branches, one called the South and the other the North branch. The first is the largest and longest, and (as I am inform'd) the Main Branch of the River, and consequently your Lordships boundary.¹⁴

¹¹ Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap, Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston, 1944), pp. 59-63.

¹² These sales, ranging from 100 to nearly 500 acres, are recorded in the Patent Records, Liber LG No. B, f. 553-54, 699-700, Liber LG No. C, f. 56-57, Liber LG No. E, f. 186, 346-47, 375-76, 377-78, 385-86.

¹³ Charter of Maryland, Article II, *Maryland Manual* (Annapolis, 1950), pp. 281-282.

¹⁴ Dulany to Baltimore, July 21, 1744, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

Dulany enlisted the support of Governor Thomas Bladen in the project of claiming the branch which would give the province the most generous boundaries. Together they studied the problem for several weeks before deciding that Dulany should make a personal reconnaissance of the doubtful terrain. The trip began too late in the autumn for Dulany to accomplish his exploring mission fully, but he returned in mid-November enthusiastic about what he had seen.

I have not been long return'd from a journey into the back woods, as far as to the Temporary line between this Province and Pennsylvania, where I had the pleasure of seeing a most delightfull Country, a Country My Lord, that Equals (if it does not exceed) any in America for natural Advantages, such as a rich & fertil Soil, well furnished with timber of all sorts abounding with lime stone, and stone fit for building, good slate and some Marble, and to Crown all, very healthy.

The season of the year was so far advanced towards Winter, that I cou'd not possibly go to the neck of land in the fork of Patomack, which I mentioned in a former letter to your Lordship, the possession whereof I conceive to be of great Importance, and therefore beg leave to assure your Lordship that no Endeavours of mine shall be wanting to secure it for you.¹⁵

After his western tour Dulany decided on a course of action which in the next few years raised suspicions that he had lost his mind and would shortly lose his fortune as well. In late 1744 he talked with a committee of six settlers who held an option on Tasker's Chance. After a vain attempt to raise the funds to purchase the whole tract the committee had approached Dulany with a proposal that he take over the land on which the settlers they represented were squatting and guarantee them the right to purchase from him later. Dulany was prepared to furnish the capital for the settlement program and in January, 1745, took over the option. In turn he paid Tasker £2,000 currency for clear title to the 7,000 acres laid out in a rough rectangular block extending five miles north and south along the Monocacy and stretching westward across the valley to the low foothills of the Catoctin mountains.¹⁶ This sum represented payment at the rate of five shillings eight pence per acre.

Tasker's Chance was the largest single block Dulany owned in

¹⁵ Dulany to Baltimore, November 24, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, II, "Fund Publication No. 34" (Baltimore, 1894), p. 116.

¹⁶ Provincial Court Deeds, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber EI No. 8, f. 28-31.

the west. But in the two years following its purchase he worked energetically to enlarge his holding of areas inland from the Potomac. Sometime after their working arrangement was made, Cresap mortgaged his Antietam valley tracts, Long Meadow and the two additions, to Dulany. When the properties fell to Dulany they comprised nominally 770 acres, surveyed in irregular shape with much vacant land lying within the enclaves. Dulany incorporated these unclaimed acres into the original survey and brought the total, now known as "Long Meadow Resurveyed," to 2,370 acres.¹⁷ Cresap continued to scout out desirable lands for Dulany after 1744. On Captain's Creek, a tributary of the Monocacy, Cresap located and surveyed the "Buck Forest," 1,600 acres. Again he included only the best land and when resurvey was made to include contiguous vacancies Buck Forest was exactly 3,000 acres in extent.¹⁸ "Locust Level" was even larger, 3,180 acres.¹⁹ Two smaller tracts, "Spring Garden" and "Addition to Spring Garden" on Beaver Creek near the Monocacy, together came to 1,000 acres.²⁰ Altogether these inland properties amounted to 16,550 acres. With the unsold remainder of Dulany's Lot, some 2,650 acres, the total extent of the Monocacy and Antietam lands was 19,200 acres. Throughout the complicated transactions with settlers Dulany kept a backlog of valley land between fifteen and twenty thousand acres, by adding small tracts to balance sales he made from his larger grants. After his death in 1753 over 17,000 acres remained in possession of his heirs.²¹

Compared with the princely domains of the Carters and Byrds, and the hundreds of thousands of acres the land companies were seeking the Dulany holdings were of second magnitude. But size alone does not convey an adequate impression of their value to the Dulany family or of their importance to the future of Western Maryland. Dulany's labors developing and promoting these properties enhanced their value at an extraordinary rate. By the time of his death they formed the largest single asset in the bountiful fortune he passed on to his heirs. Their geographical

¹⁷ Warrant Books, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber PT No. 3, folio 15; Patent Records, Liber GS No. 1, folios 131-134. Patent did not issue until November 5, 1751.

¹⁸ Patent Records, Liber GS No. 1, f. 147-48; Liber BY & GS No. 3, f. 445-47.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Liber BY & GS No. 5, f. 551-52.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Liber GS No. 1, f. 130-31.

²¹ Debt Book, 1754, Frederick County, Land Office, Annapolis, entries under Daniel Dulany and Heirs of Daniel Dulany.

location at one of the important gateways to the west gave them significance to the history of the late colonial and Revolutionary periods.

The key area of Dulany's western lands proved to be the large tract which he purchased at the outset of his venture, Tasker's Chance. This 7,000 acre plot, located nearly in the center of the Monocacy valley holdings, was the proving ground for his promotional activities and eventually the most valuable property. Within a few months after he made the purchase Dulany sold 4,895½ acres in farm units ranging in size from one to three hundred acres.²² The buyers, almost exclusively Pennsylvania Germans, included the six original option holders and presumably the land seekers they represented. John George Lay and Abraham Miller purchased farms exceeding two hundred acres in size. The whole Brunner family, Joseph and his three sons, Jacob, John, and Henry, took parcels of land in this initial division.²³ Prices per acre were as low as one fifth the original price Dulany paid for Tasker's Chance. Jacob Stoner, one of the option holders, bought two tracts, one of 292 acres and another of 1721½ acres for the sum of £25 currency, less than one shilling one pence per acre.²⁴ One investigator concluded that the sale of nearly five-sevenths of the whole tract far below cost reflected a heavy loss for Dulany. The loss was temporary, however, and was more than compensated by the advance in value of the two-sevenths remaining in his hands. Later sales of small parcels near the original nucleus of settlement ran well above £1 per acre. Most of the remainder the Dulanys retained as rental property which they leased for long terms to tenants.²⁵

Dulany realized a further reward for his scheme for settling large numbers of farmers in a compact area. He had noted the differences in natural resources between the west and the tide-water on his first detailed survey of the Monocacy valley. Repeatedly in his letters to Lord Baltimore he emphasized the deep rich lands of "Penn sandy loam," the hardwood forests, and the out-

²² A convenient tabulation appears in Edward T. Schultz, *The First Settlement of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, 1896), pp. 48-50.

²³ Land Records, Prince George's County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber BB No. 1, f. 432-33; Schultz, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

²⁴ Land Records, Prince George's County, Liber BB No. 1, f. 427-30.

²⁵ Land Records, Frederick County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Liber J, f. 72-73. For sales from the adjacent tract, Dulany's Lot, see *ibid.*, Liber F, f. 563-564.

croppings of building stone as attractions of the west country. The absence of streams navigable for ocean going vessels pointed to an agricultural pattern different from the planting counties where hospitable inlets and estuaries enabled tobacco ships to anchor at the very doors of planters. The landlocked interior suggested a more self-sufficient economy supplying local demand for products of artisans which elsewhere in the province were imported directly from England. And the settlers themselves, at least the Germans, belonged to an agricultural tradition based on grain and forage crops which required the services of millers and coopers rather than numerous cheap field hands.²⁶ Inevitably some commercial center would evolve as a market for the farmer's produce and to supply his needs. Dulany did not wait for chance developments. In the autumn of 1745 his surveyor laid out a town site on Carroll's Creek at the eastern edge of Tasker's Chance, with a regular pattern of intersecting streets sixty feet wide.²⁷

The 340 rectangular lots, sixty feet wide and from 350 to 400 feet deep, were sold on a novel plan. Purchasers paid sums varying from four to five pounds currency depending on the desirability of the location. The innovation was a ground rent on each lot, usually one shilling a year for the first twenty-one years and two shillings annually thereafter payable to Dulany and his heirs in perpetuity. Some few rents ran as high as three shillings for the first twenty-one years and six afterwards.²⁸ The institution of this special type of ground rent created a small palatinate in the west with Dulany as lesser lord proprietor entitled by reservation in the deed of bargain and sale to collect income after he had parted with his lots.

Frederick Town, as Dulany christened this community, became a center of artisans and professional men. Michael Stumpf, innkeeper, Valentine Black, shoemaker, Lotowick Young, joiner, Jacob Speck, carpenter, were among the earliest residents. Dulany's clerk wrestled with the unfamiliar names of newcomers. Thomas Schley, schoolmaster, organist, and innkeeper, became Shly in the deeds. Schultz was indifferently Shools or Shoolls.

²⁶ Richard H. Shryock, "British Versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (1939-1940), 39-54.

²⁷ J. T. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 484.

²⁸ Land Records, Prince George's County, Liber EE (1745), f. 514-16; Land Records, Frederick County, Liber E, f. 273-74, and Liber B, f. 575.

One newcomer who received land as Getsitoner later proved to be Christian Getzendanner.²⁹ Within a few years old familiar provincial names crept into the sale books, Robert DeButts "of Prince George's County, gentleman," Robert Wickham, and Kennedy Farrell. Their arrival indicated the political organization of the new settlements. Until the Germans became politically active, the tidewater settlers furnished local officials.³⁰

Dulany was himself busy with plans to erect the western settlements into a new county. Until 1748 the entire western neck of Maryland lay within Prince George's county. The more remote settlers estimated the trip into the tidewater to the county seat cost more than the losses from cattle and horse thieves and preferred taking the loss to incurring expenses of the journey.³¹ Of more immediate concern to Dulany was a report that the sheriff of Prince George's County had introduced a charge of ten percent plus a flat fee of fifteen shillings as a commission for collecting quit rents in arrears. Many of the Germans threatened to leave the province rather than submit to this unauthorized imposition.³² With the careful plans for his western properties in jeopardy, Dulany pressed for action. When the assembly met in 1748, he had mustered support for an act to erect Frederick County and to locate the county seat at Frederick Town. Against some opposition the act passed.³³

Dulany had an incidental incentive for wishing to set up the new county in which he wielded considerable personal influence. Since the arrival home of his eldest son, Daniel, after an absence of several years at Cambridge and the Inns of Court, the governor had prodded Dulany to find him a seat in the lower house of the assembly where he could support proprietary legislation against the attacks of the anti-proprietary "country party." In the first elections held at Frederick Town during March of 1749 Dulany introduced his son to the electors and had the satisfaction of seeing him returned as one of the four delegates from the new county.³⁴

²⁹ Schultz, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, prints this assignment.

³⁰ Land Records, Frederick County, Liber B, f. 262-63; Liber EE (1745) f. 515-16.

³¹ Black Books, IX, No. 61, Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, The Black Books* (Annapolis, 1943), No. 394.

³² *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 420-21. Depositions appear on 422-424.

³³ Text of the act is printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLVI, 141-144.

³⁴ Ogle to Baltimore, February 12, 1749, *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 699. Daniel, Jr. was later deprived of his seat in the house on charges of undue election,

The final step toward focussing the life of the west on Frederick Town was made possible by a patent Dulany secured from Lord Baltimore authorizing weekly markets on Saturdays "for buying and Selling all sorts of Cattle and other Provisions of every kind," and for two annual fairs in May and October. This curious document was cast in the formal language of ancient seigneurial grants. By "Our Special Grace Mere Motion and certain knowledge" Dulany was to enjoy "Reasonable Tolls Stallage Piccage Rights Profits Advantages and all Privileges and free Customs" on market days and during the three day fairs.³⁵ The medieval provisions of the patent were misplaced on the frontier where forage and woodland stalls were nature's gift. In the notice of the first fair held in the fall of 1747 Dulany exempted all comers from payment of the fees Lord Baltimore had granted.³⁶

The early settlers on Dulany's Frederick County land, mostly Germans from Pennsylvania, had impressed him as ideal pioneers. In his frequent letters to Lord Baltimore and the proprietary advisors in England he praised their steady habits and skill as farmers. "Pennsylvania is full of them," he wrote. More than once he urged the advantages of encouraging them to come directly to Maryland from Europe. After the establishment of Frederick County Dulany opened correspondence with two merchant houses in Rotterdam, center of German emigration from the lower Rhine, the firms of Dunlop & Company and Rocquette & Vanteylingen.³⁷ Through their agency ship loads of indentured "Palatines" began arriving directly in the Chesapeake. The traffic soon centered in Baltimore, still a tiny community but favored with the best communications to the agricultural hinterland of western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania.³⁸ The new arrivals who were not indentured moved directly across to Frederick County in large numbers. Dulany took responsibility for the unfree. "I can assure you that such of the Germans as come here, shall be

ibid., 278, 282-283. At the next general elections he was seated by a comfortable margin.

³⁵ The patent is recorded in the Chancery Record, Land Office, Annapolis, Liber IR No. 4, folio 69 (of the folios numbered from the end of the volume).

³⁶ *Maryland Gazette*, September 8, 1747.

³⁷ Dulany to Messrs. Rocquette & Vanteylingen and to Messrs. Dunlop & Company, both dated December 29, 1752, Dulany Letter Book, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

³⁸ Clarence P. Gould, "Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by His Students* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 228-29, 237.

protected from all Injurys & oppression so far as it is in my power," he wrote his Rotterdam correspondents.³⁹

How he made good this promise of protection appears in one of the rare bits of evidence on his recruiting campaign, a memorial, evidently designed for circulation in the old country. Signed by twenty-five Germans, the memorial recites the advantages of fertile soil, civil liberty, and security of property in Maryland. The final paragraph credits Dulany with one positive act of assistance.

[Mr Dulany] who Lives at Annapolis, the Capital of this Province, was so kind as to assist us wth 3006 Pistoles & to free us from y^e Captains power, we are persuaded that this Gentleman will be Serviceable to aid & assist all Germans that will Settle in this Province.⁴⁰

Dulany had a translation made from the "Dutch Language" for the eyes of Baltimore, but whether he actually circulated the memorial in the Rhineland is uncertain.

In the nine years from 1744 to his death in 1753 the elder Daniel Dulany laid most of the groundwork for the growth of Western Maryland. After his "discovery" of the Monocacy he went to work systematically to develop the lands he rapidly acquired. It was the fact that Dulany made an enterprise of the back country that aroused the wonder and provoked the headshakes of his contemporaries. He sold farms to the Pennsylvania Germans at bargain prices, actually far below cost. He laid out a town as market center considerably before urban life would normally have developed. More than once he had aided the Palatines by grants of money, by requesting the governor to admonish oppressive officials, and by working for the establishment of a new county which brought justice nearer their doors. And he had taken a hand in diverting part of the stream of German immigrants to Maryland where they worked westward and northwestward from the port of Baltimore. In none of these related activities did Dulany act from motives of charity. He aimed at advancing his fortune and in the unexploited neck of western Maryland he saw his opportunity. Instead of waiting for eventual development he brought his capital and his political influence to a promotional

³⁹ Dulany to Dunlop & Company, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Calvert Papers No. 2951/2, Maryland Historical Society; *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, 697.

scheme for the area. The great rewards came during the lifetimes of his sons who realized enormous profits from sales of Frederick Town lots and farms from the larger tracts their father had taken up. But the tradition preserved by Marylanders rightly attributed the foundations to the elder Dulany. With justice and grace, too, they recalled how they had once laughed at the old man's folly for dreaming that the wilds were worth the bother.⁴¹

⁴¹ William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 83.

JEROME AND BETSY CROSS THE ATLANTIC

ACCOUNT OF THE PASSAGE BY THE
CAPTAIN OF THE *Erin*

By DOROTHY M. QUINN and FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

THE story of the marriage on Christmas Eve, 1803, of Jerome, youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, to the beautiful Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore, is well known on two continents. The details of her repudiation by her husband's family are also familiar. They are based on two books published in the 1870s, the first of which ¹ appeared over the signature of a man who got a collection of letters by some obscure means from the warehouse of William Patterson, father of "Betsy." The second ² of these books may have been inspired by "Betsy" herself, using letters which she or the family supplied. In both cases the letters survive tests of authenticity, although they may have been tampered with in minor details. The narrative in both books, however, goes far beyond the limits of the letters and has resulted in distortion and flights of romantic imagination. One of the best examples of this is the story of "Betsy's" voyage with her husband, their parting in Lisbon, and her long journey to England without him. The traditional version ³ is as follows:

. . . the emperor expressed his determination to throw Jerome into prison as soon as he arrived, there to remain until he consented to repudiate his wife. . . . Before these threats had reached the United States, however, Jerome and his wife, having failed to secure passage on other vessels, had arranged to sail in one of Mr Patterson's own ships, the 'Erin.' After a quick and prosperous voyage, the Erin arrived at Lisbon on the 2nd of April. Here they at once had proof of Napoleon's despotic power. A

¹ William T. R. Saffell, *The Bonaparte Patterson Marriage in 1803* (Philadelphia, 1873).

² Eugene L. Didier, *The Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* (New York, 1879).

³ This account is quoted from Didier, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, 27-28. The version given by Saffell agrees in general, but gives more space to events in the Texel Roads.

French guard was placed around the vessel, and Madame Jerome was not allowed to land. An ambassador from Napoleon waited upon her, and asked what he could do for *Miss Patterson*. To whom she replied, 'Tell your master that Madame Bonaparte is ambitious, and demands her rights as a member of the imperial family.'

Soon after arriving in Lisbon, Jerome hastened to Paris. . . . About the middle of April, Madame Jerome Bonaparte finding that she would not be allowed to land at Lisbon, or any port from which Napoleon had power to exclude her, sailed for Amsterdam . . . when the ship *Erin* arrived in the Texel Roads, she was ordered off immediately. [Here follow extensive and accurate details about the *Erin* in the Texel] . . . fearing that an attempt would be made upon her life if she remained in the Texel, Madame Bonaparte sailed for England. She arrived at Dover on the 19th of May, and so great was the desire of the crowd to see this now celebrated woman, that Mr Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, sent a military escort to keep off the multitude that had assembled to watch her disembark.

Several sources have recently come to light which modify the familiar version considerably. One of these is the Captain's journal of the voyage of the *Erin*,⁴ while the second can be pieced together from entries in several of 'Betsy's' notebooks.⁵ Some further information, and confirmation of the two sources mentioned, was found in Washington in the National Archives and the Library of Congress, and in Paris in the Archives Nationales and the Archives of the General Staff, (Marine).⁶ The narrative in more accurate form, we believe, can now be achieved by transcribing the Captain's journal, and placing other sources, *when for the same dates*, in juxtaposition:

⁴ Found by Frank White in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. This journal is an unofficial record which the Captain of the *Erin* wrote for his family. It was certainly begun during the voyage, but may have been edited later. He says, "In March 1805 [I left] Baltimore in the Ship *Erin*, on a voyage to Europe and the East Indies. The principal events which may occur during the voyage as well as the remarks accompanying them are here noted with a view to amuse the leisure hours of some persons very dear to me, as well as to give them some slight information respecting places at which I may touch dur [ing the voyage.]" The journal is undated and unsigned, but is easily identified. It was bought at a public sale in Philadelphia.

⁵ Found by Dorothy Quynn in the Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society. Madame Bonaparte left a number of small notebooks in which she put miscellaneous information. Five of these survive. Except for the lists of her financial holdings, which were in excellent order, there was no system at all, and we find, often mixed together, the addresses of her friends, names of hotels, hotel bills, and inventories of her furniture, clothing, and jewels. Late in life, about 1867, Madame Bonaparte annotated practically every record in her possession. It is always easy to recognize, from the ink and the handwriting, the notes she made at that time. It is not always possible to tell, by this or other means, which of several entries is the earlier, or whether entries are contemporary with the events to which they refer.

⁶ By Dorothy Quynn and Frank White.

*Captain's journal*⁷*Notebook.*⁸

My first destination was Lisbon, the ship being engaged to carry Mons. Jerome Bonaparte to that place Madame B. & her friend Mrs A.[nderson]⁹ were likewise on board, as were Mr W.[illiam] P.[atterson],¹⁰ brother to Madame B., a secretary,¹¹ Surgian [sic]¹² & four or five domestics of Mr Bonaparte. The Embarkation of those persons on board the Erin was intended to be kept a secret, yet nothing was less so, each of the ladies protested their Innocence of divulging the Voyage, and one of them it is very *possible* may not have spoken of it. But certain it is the great secret was known in my family indirectly from the other one.

The passage to Lisbon offered very little to Interest the attention. Mr.¹³ & Mrs. B. were both sick during the greater part of the passage, and occasionally Mrs. A. Our time was occupied in Chit Chat or Bagammon on Deck, or at a party of . . . scandal below. The subjects of it could not had they known all that passed been the least offended, for by . . . *no one* was spared.

We found Mr. B. quite an agreeable passenger, requiring very little attention, very familiar & extremely good humoured. His secretary Mr. LeCamus I was much pleased with as a man of good understanding and agreeable manners. The Surgeon, a Frenchman, full of life and animation—and of a most admirable appetite. Having said something about *talking of absent friends* above I would not by any means thereby insinuate that Mr B. was in that way, or indeed any of the Gents. It was left entirely to the Ladies and could not possibly be in better hands. Jerome always spoke well of the people of Baltimore, and of the Americans in general. He was indeed very little given to detraction, nor did he appear to have any malice in his composition. He has large share of vanity, but not what

⁷ MSS DIV., Library of Congress.

⁸ Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society.

⁹ Mrs. Eliza Anderson, a friend of the Patterson family, had been deserted by her husband and seems to have been living from hand to mouth for some years. She accompanied Madame Bonaparte on the voyage and remained with her until her child was born, but she returned to America alone soon afterward. In 1808 she brought divorce proceedings against her husband, and later married Maximilien Godefroy. (Eliza Anderson Godefroy letters, Bonaparte MSS, Maryland Historical Society.)

¹⁰ William Patterson, Jr. (1780-1808), her eldest brother.

¹¹ Alexandre Lecamus, apparently of a Creole family in Martinique, who came to Norfolk with Jerome and was spoken of as Jerome's secretary during the stay in the United States. He remained in Jerome's service for some years.

¹² Dr. Garnier also came with Jerome from the West Indies and was with him in Baltimore. He remained with Madame Bonaparte until she was settled in England and then returned to the Continent to join Jerome.

¹³ In view of the fact that Jerome was a naval officer of several years service, it is somewhat surprising to read of his illness here. If he was addicted to sea-sickness, this may explain his supposedly unexplained transfer to the army in 1806.

might be expected, family vanity. His is personal, certainly less disgusting than the other.

During the passage we [saw but one] vessel and as we outsailed her greatly, we were not alarmed [at] her being a cruiser. I know not what we should have done had an English ship fallen in with us. A discovery would have taken place, and John Bull would doubtless have made a prize of Monsr. Jerome at least.

Our passage to Lisbon was an uncommonly short one being just twenty one days from the Wharff at Baltimore to anchor at Lisbon.¹⁴ At this port their quarantine laws are very strict, and rigidly enforced. We were thus doomed to lay at anchor before the town of Belem¹⁵ (3 miles from Lisbon) nineteen days so as to compleat the number of *forty days* from leaving your port in America. Those wretches conceiving it necessary you should be that long period from the port you left before you are subsequently pursued to have an intercourse with them. When your ship has come to Anchor it is usual for the commander to go towards the Beach in the Boats having your pilot with you. You are to wait with your boat until your turn comes to be examined and as there are sometimes a dozen boats before you, it is necessary on occasion to have a good stock of patience. I was kept two hours in a very hot sun waiting for my turn. When it arrives by direction of a man on the Beach you are ordered to pull in, two seamen, the pilot and yourself are then marched up to a kind of house where a group of Signiors are assembled to examine you. Which takes place at a window, nor are you allowed to touch the house or anything about it. Your letters are put into a bar^{ll} of Vinaiger and a piece of Iron like a Chissel driven through them as to mark they have been purified. If there should be anyone on the beach wishing to speak to you he comes directly between you and the wind. And if there are any refreshments to be sent off to you, they are taken down to the Beach and deposited on the Sand. When everyone has retired a hundred yards from them you may advance and take them into your boat. And this farce must be performed every time you want any thing from the shore. All which is born & submitted to with a great deal of Impatience by Seamen, the more so as there [is] more danger of Infection from those careful Gentlemen than there is of communicating it to them.

The news of Mrs Bonaparte being on board the Erin was soon spread at Lisbon, that is among the English & French. As for the Portuguese they are kept in such a state of

Report of the arrival to French Ambassador, Archives Nationales, Paris, MS AF^{iv} 1679, dossier 2, Espagne, pièce 4, April 4, 1805.

The chargé d'affaires in Lisbon reported to the French Ambassador in Madrid, that Jerome had landed, accompanied by his wife; and

¹⁴ This is inaccurate. Having embarked on Sunday, March 10, 1805, and anchored on Tuesday, April 2, the entire voyage consumed twenty-three days. But they were in the Chesapeake until Tuesday, March 12, when they passed out between the Capes. Counting from this day, the length of the voyage could be considered twenty-one days.

¹⁵ Belem (Bethlehem), is an old port inside the entrance to the Bay of the Tagus, and below Lisbon, of which it is now a suburb.

Ignorance that Napoleon himself might have been with us, without their knowing or caring about it, providing he had no troops with him. Great interest was made to have the duration of the quarantine a-bridged ¹⁶ and with such success that five days only of the nineteen were complied with.

On the fifth day the passengers landed and the Ship got up to Lisbon.

Mrs. B. and family took lodgings in an English Hotel, where I had the curiosity of Introduction of

some distinguished personages to him. Among others, the Pope's Nuncio, the very title he bore will convey a just idea of the person, a canting, whining priest. When he was about to retire Mr LeCamus

'desiring to shorten the unpleasantness of a rigorous quarantine, I saw . . . the chief health officer and got him to reduce it to five days. . . . I then went to pay my respects to Jerome I found him on the beach opposite the ship' . . . he then told me he had arrived with his wife, six months pregnant, her brother, Mr Peterson, and suite, that he planned to go by way of Spain to France, while the ship . . . would take his wife to Bordeaux or Amsterdam because of her condition. He evidently plans only a short stay here.

Notebook.

6th of April landed in Lisbon took lodgings in St Paule Street, walked in some of the principal streets in the evening.¹⁷

7th of, April, visited the Church of St Roche—saw a superb altar of 3 pictures done in mosaic.¹⁸ in the evening saw the pope's nuncio at our Lodgings.¹⁹

8th of April, visited the Aqueduct.²⁰

waited on him down stairs. As he went down he asked Mr LeCamus if he was in the suite of Mr. B. On being answered in the affirmative, he advised him by all means to follow his fortunes, sure, added he, to gain honour and happiness by so doing. F U D G E.

It is somewhat remarkable that no Portuguese character of distinction waited on Mr. B. It is true, he was not announced as Mr. Bon. but as Mr. Dalbert.²¹ But the same reasons might have prevented the Spanish Ambassador and the Batavian President, as well as many others who nevertheless came.²² It may, however, been mixed curiosity, and I suppose the Portuguese Gov. were willing to have nothing to do with him and no doubt cordially wish the whole Family of the Bones as the Devil.

¹⁶ In a letter to his father-in-law written on board the *Erin* the day they anchored, (April 2), Jerome says, 'We shall be obliged to perform a quarantine of 16 days, but I have already found a way for not doing it, and in three days I shall be ready to proceed on my . . . journey.' (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 174.)

¹⁷ Possibly the rua São Francisco de Paula, a street near the river, and below the English quarter. In 1908 the Baedekers showed an English Club at the entrance to this street.

¹⁸ The Church of St. Roch, built in 1566, was one of the show-places of Lisbon. It contained several beautiful chapels with wall-tiles, colored marble, and mosaics.

¹⁹ Madame Junot says the Nuncio was Monsignor Galeppi, Archbishop of Nisibi, whom she considered very shrewd and very charming, but whom Napoleon thought too shrewd. (*Memoires da Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès* (Paris, 1832), VIII, 228-233.)

²⁰ This aqueduct, "das Aguas Livres," built in 1729-1749, supplied Lisbon with water from a source some fifteen miles from the town.

²¹ Jerome and his wife used the name of *d'Albert* in correspondence after they parted. They may have used it for purposes of *incognito* in travel.

²² There is no evidence to confirm the story of the visit of these persons.

Mr. Bonaparte left Lisbon 2 or 3 days before us to go by Land to Paris²³ and after a stay of 6 days the ladies, Mr. W. P., the Doct. and some of the servants embarked again on board the Erin for Amsterdam. We had a very tedious and uncomfortable passage, and were twenty-six days before we got up to the Texel River.²⁵

Having been off the harbor two or three days and not seeing any pilot, I determined to run the ship in without one. And with no little Risk and Anxiety. About 2 o'clock (on

Notebook.

9th April, Mon mari est parti de Lisbon.

11th April, saw the chapel in the convent at Belem and the Princesses garden some miles from Lisbon.²⁴

12 of April embarked on board the Erin for Holland detained until the 17th in the Tagus.

17th of April went to sea.

arrived the 10th May in the river Texel not permitted to land in Holland obliged to go to England.

Library of Congress, MSS Division. Sylvanus Bourne MSS, Wonkle to Bourne, Helder, May 10, 1805.

... ship Erin Captain Stephenson from Baltimore. Both ships at present under quarantine.

²³ Jerome was undoubtedly expected in Lisbon, and orders from his brother were awaiting him there. He was to proceed to Turin and Milan by way of Barcelona, Perpignan, Toulouse, and Grenoble, and orders had been given to arrest him if he attempted to leave this route. (*Correspondance de Napoleon I*, X [Paris, 1862], 337.) He may not have confided this news to his wife or other members of the party, who seem to have thought he had gone to Paris. The chargé d'affaires at Lisbon had given him the orders and had notified his superior of Jerome's arrival. He had also sent a message to Badajoz where the courier was to intercept Junot, the Ambassador, who was known to be en route to Lisbon. (Archives Nationales, Paris, Ms AF^{iv} 1679, dossier 2, Espagne, pièce 4). Junot and his wife left Madrid on March 29, 1805, and spent two weeks en route, arriving, if their dates have been accurately recorded, on April 11, two days after Jerome had left Lisbon. At an unspecified date, possibly the day after he left Lisbon, he met the Junot family en route and had an interview of some two hours with them over breakfast. (*Memoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès*, VIII, 107.)

²⁴ The Hieronymite Convent of Belem, which stood on the site of an earlier building with traditions going back to Vasco da Gama, was built in the early 16th century. It was famous as an example of late and very ornate Gothic. The reference to the 'Princesses garden' apparently means the gardens opposite the Ajuda Palace above Belem. The palace which now stands on the spot was not built at that time. The gardens are now known as the Botanical Gardens.

²⁵ When Jerome got his orders to join his brother, he was told that his wife should return to America immediately, and that she would not be allowed to land in France or Holland. (*Correspondance de Napoleon I*, X, 337.) It appears that the original plan had been to land Jerome in Lisbon while she should go on by ship to Bordeaux or some other port, to avoid the difficult trip by land in her delicate condition. It is not clear whether she and her husband had any understanding about this project when he left her in Lisbon.

On the eve of her departure from Baltimore (March 9), Patterson had given his daughter instructions in writing to go to Amsterdam and remain there until her husband should arrange with his family for her reception. If he was unsuccessful, she was to return immediately. (William Patterson to Elizabeth Patterson, March 9, 1805, Bonaparte MSS. Md. Hist. Soc.) Meantime Robert Patterson (1781-1822) had gone to France shortly after his sister's marriage in an attempt to get her position clarified. He was in Paris, planning a trip to Amsterdam on March 17,

the 10th of May) we got round the point of the River in sight of the Shipping. And shortly a Boat pushed off from the town and came alongside. The ship was going so fast there was no time to ask questions. A pilot jumped out of the Boat, and instantly bore away for the Anchoring ground. In a few minutes after a shot was fired ahead of us by a Line of Battle Ship as a signal to bring us to. I asked the pilot if this was customary. He told me it was not. Yet no one suspected anything uncommon from it. We anchored.

Shortly after we were at anchor a pilot boat passed close to the Ship and asked if we belonged to Baltimore. Yes, do you come from Lisbon? Yes. Then said he, You must not come into the Texel, and left us. Our old pilot now seemed to awaken as from a dream and was excessively frightened. He told us that notice had been posted up at Helder (town where pilots reside) forbidding any pilot under the severest penalties to go aboard the ship. A description of the Ship had been given with the notice as long as three weeks ago. He said that on seeing the Ship coming into the Harbour, he had entirely forgotten this prohibition, and concluded by assuring us that if his age did not protect him he would be hung and would no doubt as it was get a severe flogging and imprisonment.²⁶

The affair of the gun was now fully explained and it was but too [evident] we should not be permitted to go up to Amsterdam. . . . Those circumstances . . . were mentioned to M[rs.] B[onaparte] by her brother. I need not say they afflicted her very much, as it at once proved to her, she would not be received by the French Government.

About 5 o'clock, a boat came near the Ship and Directed the Pilot to move her up close to the man of war. This order I objected telling them my ship was now in safety, but to overcome my objections another boat with an officer and file of soldiers repeated the orders, and finding opposition would be fruitless, I delivered charge of the ship to the pilot—who got her under way although it was blowing a gale of wind and brought her up within 50 yards of the Sixty four gun ship on one side and a sloop of war on the other, and by way of doubly securing us if it was not already done, they sent two boats to row round us all night, and they let us go to rest, the Dutch Government being kind enough to watch over our safety.

The succeeding day it blew very hard. In the evening the ship swung too near the sixty-four [gun ship] who directed the pilot to remove her a little farther off. An armed Sloop and a row Boat attended us all night.

Having been now near a month of our own port²⁷ when we expected to have been in Amsterdam, on leaving Lisbon in a fortnight, our fresh provisions were all consumed, and we found ourselves reduced to salt Beef

1805 (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 169-170), unaware that his sister and her husband had sailed. He was in Amsterdam when they arrived in Lisbon, and wrote them, either at Lisbon or Helder, advising them to go to Emden. (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 185.) He was apparently unsuccessful in getting a letter put on board at Helder.

²⁶ The pilot was imprisoned. (Letter of Robert Patterson, May 11, 1805, Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 187.)

²⁷ This must be an error. They were two months out of Baltimore.

and Biscuit, fare not very well relished by passengers particularly ladies. We therefore stated our wants to our satellite the sloop, as she was nearest to us, and repeated them many times to no effect. To all of which some one on board with true Dutch Sang-froid answered Yaw, Yaw, and paid us no further attention.

After this apparently useless effort, the Ship agreeable to orders . . . was unmoored, although it blew a gale of wind, and was a very unfit time to move a ship. In doing this we came too near the sloop of war. When by way of consoling us for our [lack?] of Breakfast, some one told us that if we came near enough to touch him, they would fire into us, and send us to the Bottom, and that we might fully comprehend the force of his generous offer, he repeated it to us in very good English.

Now tho our situation is bad enough, we could not reconcile ourselves [to the] thought of drowning, especially in a climate as cold as Holland is, where to drown is a double death, as you are sure of being half frozen before you get comfortably full of Water. . . .

I must here observe that no one but the principal officers knew on what account we were thus treated and I learned after my return to Holland that it was a matter of great speculation among people what it could be owing to. Some imagined we had a full cargo of yellow fever. Others thought we were filled with combustibles to destroy the Dutch fleet and the alarms of some were so much heightened as to conceive we might have some designs of taking Holland. It never once entered the heads of those poor people that all this stir was only to prevent a man and wife coming together.

We had now been here four days. The state of uncertainty in which we were with respect to our future destiny, the want of refreshments now very sensibly felt, and the disagreeable circumstance of seeing ourselves surrounded by armed force, combined to render us very impatient and Mr. P. urged me frequently to hoist out our boat and endeavor to get on board the Admiral ²⁸ a notice of our wants, and to learn their intentions towards us. But as the Centinels surrounding us were extremely alert, I was convinced that hoisting out the Boats would be a hazardous proceeding. I found however that an Opinion began to prevail among the passengers that I was inactive in the business, and that at least I ought to let them have a Boat to make an effort for the above purpose. I represented to Mr. P. in the strongest manner the risk attending it, without at all convincing him my reasons were good. I therefore yielded to necessity and the boat was put out. But I directed the officer not to proceed after being hailed to desist. I soon s[aw] they were getting the guns on board the guard vessels . . . and by the time Mr. P., the surgeon and four seamen were embarked in the Boat, there was a general hailing from the Ships. Notwithstanding the boat was shoved off, in which I called to Mr. P.—told him it would be madness to push the business any farther as the guns were pointed and matches holding over them. On this the boats put back, and I am convinced had they attempted to go another length of the Boat, they

²⁸ Ship carrying the admiral or commander of the port.

would have fired into her and was warm for going appeared to be in full as great a hurry to get back, as he did not take time to step into the ship but rolled over the ship's side in on deck. A boat was sent from the Admiral to learn the cause of this tantamaire when I informed the officer of our wants. With this he went to the Admiral and returned immediately to let us know all our wants should be supplied on the morrow.

The succeeding day brought a full supply of everything, an assortment of wines and liquors, and a very polite message from the Admiral purporting that [if he had] been acquainted with our wanting anything, it should have been supplied before and requesting to know if anything more was wanting.

In the course of this day, I received a written order to leave the port of the Texel, and not on any pretense to return to it or to have any communication with any port or place of the Batavian Republic which order I was to obey whenever the wind became fair. To this order I replied . . . against that part . . . which interdicted my return & in two days after received a second permitting me to return & accomplish my voyage when I should have landed my passengers in some other country. In pursuance of these orders when the wind came fair we put to sea and after we were outside debated where we should go when it being determined for England, we made for that country and next afternoon anchored off Dover.

Mr. P. landed to make some previous arrangements and on Sunday we hailed into the pier to land the ladies.

The concourse of persons assembled to see Madame B. land was immense and it was with the greatest difficulty she could get as far as the carriage which was in waiting to take her to lodgings. Mrs. A. got lost in a choir of Military Gentlemen . . . and it was some time before she could join Mrs. B. A great crowd was collected likewise at the Inn door and even on the Stairs and Entry to get a sight of our fair countrywoman. I know many American ladies who would have almost sunk under those circumstances and I likewise know one who so far from shrinking at such a crowd. . . .

The attentions shewed Mrs. B. did a great credit to the English but John Bull has such a fund of curiosity, it is hard to distinguish whether he was gratifying it or exercising his humanity and feeling, I suppose a little of both, but when the actions are good, it is unfair to scrutinize the Motives.

Having thus landed my passengers and seen them sett off for London, I felt relieved from a great deal of anxiety, and after a stay of five days I

sent her to the bottom. The surgeon who Library of Congress, Sylvanus Bourne MSS, Wonkle to Bourne, Helder, May 15.

. . . agreeable to your instruction requested in your name the reason of the ship Erin being detained contrary to treaty existing between this country and the United States. . . . [Answer was that the], Counsul must apply to the government and not to the commander of the port about this.

Wonkle to Bourne, May 17.

Am sorry to inform you that the ship Erin, Capt. Stephensen, this day one o'clock unexpectedly returned. During this day no one has been permitted to come ashore. Have been informed that fresh provisions was sent on board.

left Dover and returned again to the Texel. On my arrival I was directed on board the Admiral who simply asked if my passengers were landed and permitted me to go up to Amsterdam where I arrived on the 1st of June.

Our corrected version results in these facts. Jerome and his bride, accompanied by her eldest brother, William Patterson, her friend, Mrs. Anderson, and Jerome's secretary and surgeon, together with several servants, took passage in the *Erin*²⁹ from Baltimore. The ship, said to have been one of "Mr Patterson's own" did not belong to him,³⁰ although he may have chartered it for this trip. There had previously been several false starts, partly due to the fact that Jerome had been ordered to return without his bride, whom French ships therefore refused to accommodate, and partly because Jerome and his wife both feared capture from the British ships blockading the Atlantic ports.³¹ They finally embarked, supposedly in great secrecy, on Sunday, March 10, 1805, and passed out through the Capes for the open sea on March 12.³² The voyage to Lisbon was short and pleasant, and on April 2, twenty-one days out from the Capes, they anchored off Belem in the Tagus. Expecting to spend nineteen days there in quarantine, they made no effort to land, but a French chargé d'affaires managed to have an exception made, and on Saturday, April 6, they went ashore to an hotel in Lisbon. They spent two days in sight-seeing and shopping, the bride and her husband indulging her love of jewels—\$180 for topazes, \$38 for two amethysts, two pair of amethyst earrings for \$30. They also bought household linen.³³

Taking LeCamus with him, Jerome left on April 9, supposedly to seek out his brother in Paris to prepare the way for the arrival

²⁹ MS Register of Vessels, Port of Baltimore (1804-1807), no. 21, Record Group 41, National Archives, gives a description of the *Erin*. The "vessel has one deck and three masts and . . . her length is eighty-six feet and six inches, her breadth is twenty-five feet eleven inches and her depth is eleven feet and . . . she measures two hundred and thirteen tons and 6/95 of a ton and . . . she is square sterned and has no galleries and [has] a woman head [figure]head."

³⁰ When the ship was built in 1804, it was registered as belonging to two Baltimore merchants, Moore Falls and Daniel Howland, and to no one else. (*Ibid.*, no. 121.) In October, 1804, she was owned by Moore Falls and Stewart Brown of Baltimore. (*Ibid.*, no. 245.) When she was lost at sea, in 1808, she was the property of "William Cooke, Jr., of the city of Baltimore." (*Ibid.*, no. 62.)

³¹ Jerome Bonaparte, *Memoires . . . du Roi Jerome* (Paris, 1861), I, 284-287; Saffell, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 89-91, 111-115.

³² Letter of William Patterson, Sr., to the French Minister, March 17, 1805. (Saffell, *op. cit.*, p. 163.)

³³ Madame Bonaparte's notebooks, Bonaparte MSS.

of his bride, but in reality his destination was Turin in Italy, where his brother then was. After further sight-seeing, the rest of the party re-embarked in the *Erin* for Amsterdam. They were delayed for some reason, and did not get away until April 17.³⁴ The journey north was slow and disagreeable, as this particular run usually was in the days of sailing ships. It took twenty-six days to reach Helder at the entrance to the Zuider Zee, where ships take on pilots for Amsterdam. But warnings against them had been posted three weeks earlier, and no one was permitted to land. They finally succeeded in getting food and supplies, and proceeded to England, where they landed at Dover on May 19,³⁵ just ten weeks from the day they left the Baltimore wharves.

After the passengers had left for London, the Captain of the *Erin* left for Holland, and reached Helder on May 30. This time he encountered no difficulties in transacting his business. He then continued on his way to the East Indies.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Captain's journal.

COMPTON, TALBOT COUNTY

By CHARLES F. C. ARENSBERG and JAMES M. ARENSBERG

"COMPTON," a home of the Stevens family for almost 200 years, stands 200 feet back from the waters of Dividing Creek¹ in Talbot County. The house faces the southwest and looks down the Creek to the Great Choptank River. Beyond, five miles over water, is Horne's Point on the Dorchester shore, where the older branch of the Stevens family lived when Compton was built.

Both the main house of three stories and the wing of two are built of brick, fifteen inches thick. The plan of the first floor shows the arrangement of the rooms and their dimensions.

As will be seen from the plan of the first floor, there are six entrances: two, into what is now the living room, twenty feet square with six full-length windows; two entrances at each end of the passage that runs across the wing, leading by a raised step at half the length of the passage, into the main house; one entrance into the kitchen and one into the dining room. A second door into the kitchen has long been bricked up.

Every room in the house, both on the first and second floor (except two very small off-level rooms now used as bathrooms), has an open fireplace with well designed mantels, and panelled overmantels in the dining room, library, and the upstairs bedroom over the library.

There are two stairways—one leading from the kitchen in the wing to the bedroom above; and the other rising in a small passageway of the main house, to an upper passage on which the second floor rooms open, and continuing to the third floor where there are three small rooms. Above the living room is the "bar-racks" as it is now called, a room twenty feet square which opens onto a two-story porch. At some time dormer windows were built, and there is a narrow flight of stairs to an old trap-door in the roof.

At a distance of a few feet from the kitchen door is a base-

¹ Also called LaTrappe Creek.

ment and ground-floor brick dairy ten feet square with barred windows and a "moat" two and a half feet wide and eight feet deep surrounding it. In the ceiling of the upper dairy room is a trap-door reached by a ladder, lashed to the ceiling to get it out of the way. Tradition has it that the unlighted space under the eaves is where refractory slaves were confined.

No one knows exactly when Compton was built. The plantation is mentioned in the will of William Stevens, Jr., dated October 8, 1700.² It is known that there was a house there as early as 1685 since Quaker meetings were held that year and later years "att ye house of Wm. Stevens att Dividing Creek." The relative dates of building of the present main house and its wing are conjectural. The fact that a window opens through an interior wall into the upstairs transverse passageway in the wing points to the main house as the older.

Much of the charm of Compton is its color—the result partly, of the color of the bricks themselves, and partly of the paint or whitewash long since worn away. Henry Chandlee Forman says in his *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* that the bricks have the rose color seen in the depths of the Grand Canyon of Arizona.³

For nearly two centuries Compton was the home of the Stevens family. William Stevens, Jr., acquired the land in the year 1679.⁴ A 100-acre tract was originally patented⁵ in 1664 to James Elvard who named it Compton in honor, probably, of his assignor of the original certificate of survey, Antonio Le Compt, the English cavalier who eventually settled at Castlehaven Point across the Choptank from Compton and whose household goods from England had taken up the holds of three ships.⁶

In the deed to Stevens it is recited that Elvard sold the land Compton, together with two adjoining 100-acre lots called "Edmondson's Lower Cove" and "Elvard's Purchase" to John Ashcomb of Calvert County, who, in turn, sold it to Charles Gorsuch, Steven's grantor. Oddly enough, there was another patent for Compton and the adjoining lands dated 1668 and cer-

² Liber 11, Wills T. B. (1701-1703), f. 106, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

³ (Easton, 1934), p. 197.

⁴ Land Record, Talbot County, Md., I, f. 329. The deed is dated Feb. 4 and was recorded on Feb. 9, 1679.

⁵ Liber CC, f. 122, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶ Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), pp. 175-176.

tified to Nathaniel Ashcomb. Ashcomb's claims under the later patent were abandoned, for some years later in the Rent Roll for Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties it is recited that

the land surv[ey] of Nov. 1668 for Nathan. Ashcomb on the North Side Choptank River in the Dividing Creek . . . has been neglected by Ashcomb for many years and is presumed to be taken up by other names and now held by the widow of William Stevens.⁷

Stevens was the son of William Stevens, Sr., the immigrant who eventually settled on Horne's Point, across the Choptank from Compton and who with his wife Magdalen was buried on the Dorchester shore 250 years ago on land later known as the "Huffington Farm." They died in 1679 and 1684 and their graves are said to be the oldest recognizable graves in Dorchester County. The headstones have since been moved to Christ Church graveyard in Cambridge near the brick wall on High Street.

The elder Stevens —of "Dorset"—served as a justice of the peace and was a member of the Provincial Assembly. He was active in early Talbot County history, giving the Lord Proprietary 30 acres "for the settling and the building of a town on Tred-Avon Creek in Great Choptank," first called Wilhelmstadt and then Oxford. He was an ardent Quaker. The great George Fox visited him in 1673 at his house "att Choptank," near Horne's Point, the scene of many regular Quaker meetings. Indeed, on the first page of that most remarkable of early Eastern Shore documents—the "Minutes of the meetings of Third Haven Meetings"⁸—it appears that the next men's meeting after the meeting held at Wenlock Christenson's on the 14th day of the 5th month 1676, would be held at William Stevens' house "att Choptank."

His son, who acquired Compton in 1679, had moved into Talbot County certainly before 1673. Fox in his Journal has recorded that after visiting the house of William Stevens, Sr., on the Great Choptank "on the 18th day of the 1st month [March 18, 1673/4] we passed 4 milles by water to a frind's house, William Stephens, wheer frinds mete that had bee[ne] abroad . . . and on the 23rd day we had a glorious meeting."⁹

⁷ Rent Roll, Vol. I, Talbot and Queen Anne's, No. 1, f. 69, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁸ These minutes have been kept intact from 1676 to date and are in the custody of the clerk of the Orphan's Court of Talbot County, Easton.

⁹ Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 502 (note 29).

Again, many years later, the old Tred-Avon "Minutes of Meetings" in referring to a marriage held at the Quaker Meeting House on Dividing Creek in 1726, state that the meeting house was revered in Quaker memory because nearby at the house of William Stevens, George Fox preached in 1673 "having among his auditors the Judge of the county, three Justices of the Peace, and the High Sheriff, with their wives; of the Indians one was called their Emperor, or Indian King, their speaker, who sat very attentive and carried themselves very lovingly."¹⁰

Torrence in *Old Somerset* makes the argument that the meeting was held at Compton, but Stevens had a house on Island Creek called "Catlin's Plain" and as he did not acquire Compton until 1679 it is likely the meeting was held on Island Creek. Again, the "Minutes of Meetings" throw some light. While it is noted in the minutes that a meeting in 1679 would "be held at ye house of William Stevens, Junr at Island Creek," a year later the minutes say that "as Thos. Hutchinson is removed from the house he had of William Stevens, Junr at Island Creke and also William Stevens lett out his house and planted onto another . . .," the next meeting would have to be held elsewhere.¹¹

Stevens seems to have got into trouble after he bought Compton from Charles Gorsuch in February of 1679. Nearly two years later, in December of 1680 Stevens refused to agree to arbitrate a dispute, apparently concerning Compton, with Lovelace Gorsuch. A commission of Friends was appointed to interview Stevens and report on what he had to say about his refusal to arbitrate and also about his tipping his hat to Lady Baltimore at Oxford. They reported that Stevens' answer to the hat episode was "he did doe it and that the proprietor bid him put it on again," but as for the land, "if Lovelace will have it he must goe to Law for it."¹²

Stevens remained obdurate for another year, apparently, for it is later recorded in the Minutes of a meeting of the 24th day of the 4th month, 1681, that "since Wm. Stevens and his son, John, doe slight the meeting being held at their house and bid friends remove it [i. e. the meeting] if they will, that ye monthly meeting be removed from Wm. Stevens' to Howell Powell's."¹³ Stevens seems eventually to have become reconciled, for later, in 1682,

¹⁰ Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), II, 376.

¹¹ "Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I (1676-1746), p. 30.

¹² "Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I, 37.

¹³ "Minutes of Meetings," *op. cit.*, I, 41.

Lovelace and he were appointed to purchase land for the "Great Meeting House" from John Edmondson, and thereafter steadily from 1685 until his death, monthly meetings were held at Compton—at "ye house of Wm. Stevens att Dividing Creek." Indeed, as he grew older his temper must have mellowed. As a member of the "Commission to the Indians for the Eastern Shore" he reported on August 23, 1689, to the Governor and the Provincial Assembly that although the Indians had certain grievances, they were "very civill and kind and desire nothing but peace and quietness."¹⁴

Stevens, like his father, was a Justice of the Peace. His appointment is recorded in the *Archives* for 1671 as Justice of the Peace to enquire by the oaths of good and lawfull men of yor Coty aforesaid of all manner of ffelonies, witchcrafts and enchantment, sorceries, magic arts, trespasses, forestallings, engrossings, extorsions whatsoever, of all and singular misdeeds and offenses of wth Justices of the Peace in England may or ought lawfully to enquire. . . .¹⁵

He died at Compton sometime early in the year 1701. His will is dated October 8, 1700, and was probated April 17, 1701. After leaving his son, William, one-half of "Catlin's Plain" on Island Creek he devised Compton as follows:

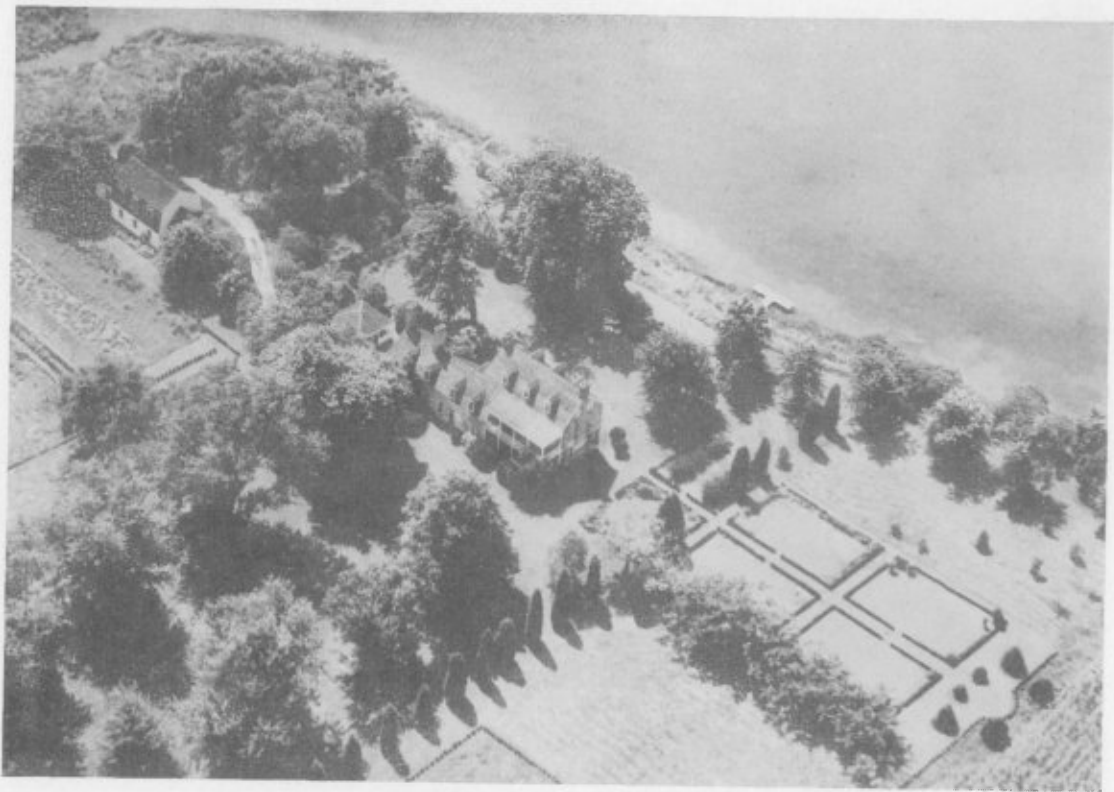
I give and bequeath unto my Son, Samuel Stevens, all the land that I have in Dividing Creek where I now live, called by the name of 'Compton' and Edmondson's Lower Cove to him and his issue lawfully begotten of his body, excepting and reserving in the af[oresai]d bequest all the lower most part of the plantation of land with housing, orchard and fencing which I give and bequeath unto my well beloved wife, Sarah Stevens, to occupy and make use of and to be and for a habitation for her during her natural life. . . .

Besides William and Samuel Stevens, the will mentions John, who was given other land, and three daughters, Mary, Sarah, and Magdalen, who were left land on Fowling Creek. In addition, Mary is given

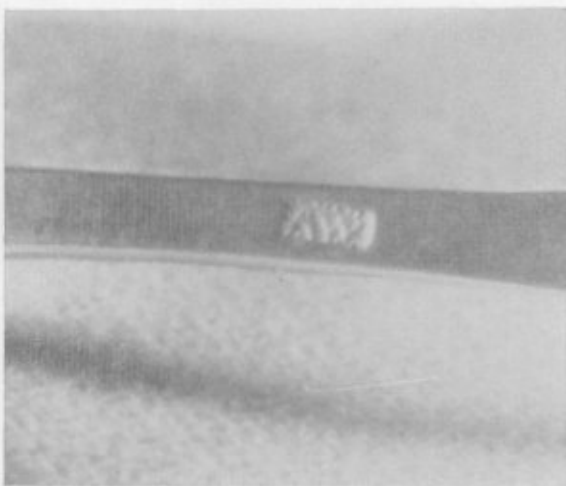
one feather bed, bolster, rug and blanket with a pair of sheets, two turkey work chairs, one pewter dish, one silver spoon, six diaper napkins, one cove and calfe. I give her the seale skin trunk that stands in my room, but my wife to have the sole command and use of it during widowhood and no longer, but in case my said daughter should marry with Robert Welsh then I revoke all that I have given her in this my will and give her

¹⁴ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 32.

¹⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, LI, 562.



AIR VIEW OF COMPTON



ASAPH WARNER'S PUNCH MARK FROM SPOON
NOW OWNED BY MRS. JOHN DOUGLAS,
DARLINGTON, HARFORD COUNTY
(Description on pages 258-260.)

twenty shillings to be paid her in one year after my decease, if demanded and this I declare to be my will. . . .

The Welsh farm lies not far from Compton, across the fields and down the road to the ferry to Cambridge, where the bridge now spans the Choptank.

Did Mary marry Robert Welsh? We do not know. We do know, however, that when Sarah Stevens died in 1719 there is no mention of her. Neither is there any mention of William and Samuel both of whom seem to have died before their mother. William had married Elizabeth Edmondson in February, 1695, and had died apparently sometime before 1719, leaving to survive him two sons—Edmondson and William. Samuel, to whom his father had specifically devised Compton, died before his mother, intestate and without issue. The inventory of his estate taken in November, 1708, mentions articles (huchaback napkins, a chest, and two old turkey work chairs) which seem to be the same things that his father had given Samuel in his will of 1700.¹⁶ John Stevens survived his mother as did his sisters, Sarah and Magdalen.

When Samuel died, his share of Compton and Edmondson's Lower Cove vested in his brothers, John and William, and when William died the fee of the land was held by John and his nephews, Edmondson and Williams Stevens. Sarah Stevens' life estate in part of the land ended when she died in 1719 and her son, John Stevens, seems to have taken over the house at Compton, for in 1720 a "meeting" was held at "ye house of John Stevens att Dividing Creek."¹⁷

There must have been quarreling over the division of the land that William Stevens had entailed to his sons. Arbiters were chosen by the assembled Friends of the meeting to compose the differences between John and his nephew, Edmondson. Later, it is recorded that John Stevens, together with his sister, Sarah Webb, refused to accept the arbiters named by the Friends, and John demanded that a lawyer be named as one of the arbiters. When this demand was not met, John Stevens and his sister "went away in contempt of the meeting."¹⁸

The dispute was eventually settled and in 1724 deeds were

¹⁶ Clerk of Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Inventory Vol. JB No. 1, f. 456.

¹⁷ "Minutes of Meetings," I, 338.

¹⁸ "Minutes of Meetings," I, 341.

passed between the various joint owners, giving each a part of Compton and part of Edmondson's Lower Cove.¹⁹

After John Stevens' death in 1742, Thomas Stevens, a son of John Stevens, seems to have taken over the bulk of the Stevens' landholding in Talbot County.²⁰ By 1766 the Debt Books for Talbot County show that he held 106-2/3 acres of Compton and 174 acres of Edmondson's Lower Cove, along with acreages at other places.

By his will dated December 1, 1781, Thomas Stevens, who died in 1782, gave to his son, John, "all the land lying on Dividing Creek where I now dwell and all the lands lying adjacent to itt, that I have any right or title to; also my still and all that belongs to it; my clock and all the shingles and all the nails."²¹ He left to his son, Tristram, for life, the use of a Negro named David and at Tristram's death David was given to Thomas Stevens, the son of John.

John Stevens took over the land and is said to have entertained lavishly there. He seems to have been the same John Stevens who had been dismissed by the Quakers in 1759 because he had "suffered a Dark and Libertine spirit to prevail over him in allowing of fiddling and dancing . . . and also the poppots to be shown in his house. . . ."²²

John Stevens was one of the justices who on March 14, 1774, sat in the case of *Proprietary v. Negro Judith*. The other justices were James Dickinson, John Bracco, William Perry, Henry Banning, and John Gibson. The prosecutor was Robert Goldsborough IV, and the sheriff was William Thomas.²³ The record reads, "The jurors present that Negro Judith burned the dwelling house of her master, John Shannahane; she is found guilty, sentenced to have her right hand cut off and then be hanged; she is to be beheaded and quartered; her head and quarters are to be set up in the most public places." The proceedings were attested by John Leeds, clerk of the County Court, and at the bottom of the third

¹⁹ Land Record, Talbot County, Liber 13, f. 131.

²⁰ Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Inventories (1743-1744), Liber 28, f. 88, and Inventories (1744), Liber 29 f. 400.

²¹ Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 2, f. 93. The will was probated March 1, 1782.

²² "Minutes of Meetings," II (1746-1771), 227.

²³ The petit jury were Christopher Birkhead, Samuel Dickinson, Joseph Bewley, William Carey, Thomas Harrison, Richard Johns, Robert Martin, Hugh Oram, James Gibson, Hugh Sherwood, Francis Baker, and Levi Batfield.

page is the notation: "Perhaps the gov. may see some of the judges before he orders all this butchery." There appears a further notation: "Read in council April 10, 1774; pardon ordered." ²⁴

The governor who ordered the pardon was Robert Eden, who apparently had earned the respect of John Stevens despite his reversal of the sentence John and his co-justices pronounced against the Negro Judith. Over a year later, in July of 1775, the Maryland Convention asked Governor Eden to leave the colony. Eden did so, departing shortly afterwards on an English ship of war. However, since the ship's captain violated the Convention's orders the Convention enjoined any and all communication with the ship by any colonist. Later, on the ship's way down the bay with Governor Eden aboard she anchored at the mouth of the Choptank River and John Stevens, along with three other Talbot County residents, sent the governor as a token of their respect some sheep, lambs, and shoats. The local Committee of Observation, of which John Stevens himself was a member, heard about the gift and at a meeting the Committee ordered the arrest of the four Talbot County residents who had sent the gift to Governor Eden contrary to the injunction of the Convention. Those arrested were James Dickinson, William Thomas, Nicholas Martin, and John Stevens. At a hearing held by the Committee, however, all of them were discharged because of their ignorance of the Convention's orders. ²⁵

John Stevens' loyalty to the new regime remained unquestioned for later in 1788 he, together with the Honorable Robert Goldsborough, Edward Lloyd, and Col. Jeremiah Banning, was chosen as a deputy of Talbot County to attend the General Convention at Annapolis in order to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787.

John Stevens died in December, 1794. By his will dated December 6, 1794, he gave his son Samuel, all of the lands devised to him by his father, Thomas Stevens, and also "all the lands where I live called Kingston." ²⁶ He admonished his son, Thomas, that he "should behave himself in a sobre and quiet manner." Another son of John, Benjamin Stevens died early in the year and by his will probated April 29, 1794, left everything to

²⁴ *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, The Black Books* (Annapolis, 1943), No. 1464.

²⁵ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, 94-95.

²⁶ Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 5, f. 12. The will was probated December 16, 1794.

his father. Another son, William Stevens, died the following year, leaving a will probated on July 12, 1796. Apparently, Tristram, who was given the use of the Negro David for his life (and at Tristram's death David was to go to Thomas Stevens) had also died because Thomas in his will says that his Negro David should be hired out to pay his debts and after his debts had been paid "my will is that my Negro David be liberated and set free."²⁷

Five sons died in two years and only Samuel survived. There were three daughters, however, Henny, Eliza, and Mary Manning. Henny and Eliza were to continue in his "now dwelling house until my son Samuel arrived to the age of 21 years." The will also disposes of a large looking glass "now in the house lately occupied by my son, Benjamin." John himself lived at Kingston, or did when he wrote his will.

Presumably Benjamin lived at Compton. The inventory of his estate, which was made by Sarah Dickinson and Dr. William Maynadier, listed a lot of furniture, a Negro named Hanna, and a number of books including *Conquest of the Heart* in two volumes, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and a volume on crimes.

Samuel, who was to become the Governor of Maryland, was 16 when his father died and presumably lived with his two aunts, Henny and Eliza, but whether at Compton or Kingston is not clear. Practically all that the writers of this article know about the Governor is derived from Col. Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County*. He had no formal education, but attended a school maintained by the Rev. John Bowie, rector of St. Peter's Church. He was in business in Philadelphia for a short time but returned to Talbot County and spent the rest of his life at Compton. He became in the fullness of time the 18th Governor of Maryland and served for three successive terms. During the terms that he served as Governor religious tests were abolished as a qualification for office in Maryland, and Quakers were permitted to affirm rather than to take the oath which their religion forbade them to do.²⁸

²⁷ Orphan's Court, Talbot County, Will Book 5, f. 153. The will was probated July 12, 1796.

²⁸ A sketch of the life and career of Governor Stevens (with a picture of a painting of him) is in H. E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 95-98.—Ed.

Tilghman says that in the book of proceedings of the Board of Agriculture for the Eastern Shore there is a minute of a meeting of August 31, 1843, saying:

Governor Stevens appeared this day in a coat and vest which he wore in 1808 and in pantaloons which were 12 years old, but for the great heat of the day he would have ridden his mare which is 28 years old and which has never been struck with a whip or spur under the saddle or in the harness and is still a good animal, so much for taking care of animals and things.²⁹

It was this mare that the Governor had ridden nineteen years earlier from Compton around the head of Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore to welcome Lafayette, who returned to visit America in 1824. Governor Stevens welcomed him as the guest of the State of Maryland wearing, says Colonel Tilghman, the "swallow-tailed blue jeans and home-spun coat with brass buttons that he had worn on the ride. The marquis was in his full regimentals, covered with gold lace and foreign orders." Indeed, the Governor boasted in his old age that he had never worn anything but home-spun clothing in his whole life.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Governor is chiefly remembered by the famous gaucherie with which he is supposed to have greeted Lafayette. It is usually reported that he asked the General if he had ever been in America before. As a matter of fact, so Tilghman says, the Governor asked Lafayette if he had ever been in Annapolis before, which was bad enough.³⁰

The name of the mare he rode from Compton to Fort McHenry was "Pinwire." It was puzzling to imagine where he got the name until upon re-reading the *Vicar of Wakefield* we came across the name "Pinwire" as "the second fastest runner in England." Perhaps the Governor had joined in the races after church on the track back of the church at the Miles River Bridge and his mare had come out second best.

When the Governor died in 1860, in his 82nd year, he left personalty valued at \$30,000, and, by a supplemental account, at \$60,000. Apparently his personalty was not sufficient to discharge his debts. His daughter petitioned the Court to authorize a sale of his lands so as to avoid the sale of the slaves "because a

²⁹ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 624.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 198.

sale now of that species of property would be attended by great loss to the parties interested."³¹

The "parties" were faced with a still greater loss in "that species of property" on January 1, 1863, as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. At any rate, permission was given on October 17, 1863, by the circuit court to sell enough of the Governor's real estate to pay his debts. In the first account of his estate credit is given for expenditures made to Dr. Samuel Dickinson and Dr. Hardcastle for medical services to the negroes in 1861 and 1863 and a credit of \$5,200 was allowed for certain Negroes, "Bill, Henry, Wesley, Isaac, and Charles," who the account says, "had absconded." Perhaps the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation had as yet not been fully realized except by Bill, Henry, Wesley, Isaac, and Charles.

The proceedings for the sale of the Governor's land for the payment of his debts resulted in the sale of Compton by the Governor's administrators (confirmed August 17, 1863) to James Lloyd Martin, trustee. Martin sold the land to Montgomery Lloyd in 1868 and the property stayed in the Lloyd family until 1918. By a number of transfers Compton ultimately came into the hands of Emily Maynadier Arensberg who died intestate in 1948. She was the lineal descendant of Daniel Maynadière, rector of St. Peter's Parish at Whitmarsh, Talbot County, until his death in 1745. Her four sons are the present owners.

³¹ Clerk of Courts, Talbot County, Chancery Record No. 9, f. 357.

THE ARMY FLYING SCHOOL AT COLLEGE PARK

By WILLIAM F. LYNDE

THE Aeronautical Section, United States Army Signal Corps, was not exactly booming during the years 1909-1910. It was during these early years, when European nations were experimenting so extensively with the possibilities of aircraft in warfare, that the United States lost its initial advantage. This country had purchased its first military airplane in 1909, yet two years later a Congressional investigation brought out the fact that our entire Air Force consisted of one wrecked airplane, one pilot, and nine enlisted men. As a result of this disclosure, Congress authorized the War Department to expend, "for aviation purposes," \$125,000, of which \$25,000 was to be available March 3, 1911, and the rest during the fiscal year 1912.¹ This was the first aviation appropriation ever made in the United States.

After March 3rd things began to happen. Orders were rushed to the two prominent aircraft producers for three Wright and two Curtiss airplanes.² Since some of these were to be delivered to the new flying school at College Park, Maryland, the next, and most obvious, step was to create such a school.

First came the land. College Park was only a small village, but both a highway and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connected it with Washington, D. C., seven miles distant. Furthermore, on an area which had formerly been marsh land, but was now being used in part as a civilian flying field, the Army in 1909 had trained its first pilots, Lieutenants Frank P. Lahm and Frederic E. Humphreys.³ So, primarily for these reasons, the Army decided to come back to College Park, this time on a permanent basis.

¹ War Department General Orders # 25.

² The Wright's were "Type B"; the Curtiss's were "Type D" and one scout, or "Type E"; James C. Fahey (ed.), *U. S. Army Aircraft, 1908-1946* (New York, 1946), p. 6.

³ Lahm retired as a Brigadier General prior to World War II. His fame in 1911 was international, as was his father's, and based on his skill as a balloonist.

Humphreys retired as a Brigadier General, and died 20 January 1941.

Lieut. B. D. Foulis, who was the one pilot still on flying duty in March, 1911,

The original field had been small and uncleared, and even the area being used by Rexford Smith, the famous civilian aviator and inventor, was unlevelled, but the Army needed something larger and more "usable." A tract of some 200 acres was now leased, which extended north along the B. & O. property to a series of "goldfish ponds" and east to the Paint branch of the Anacostia river. This gave a maximum cleared runway of 2,376 feet in an east-west direction.⁴ The Quartermaster Department had supplied the funds to rent this field at a monthly rate of \$325. The agent who put through the deal was Mr. Edwin A. Newman, representing the National Realty Corporation. The Q. M. D. also assumed the responsibility for the task of clearing the land, and allotted a mowing machine, plow, scraper, roller, and two Army mules to the undertaking.

The first new buildings were four temporary wooden hangars 45 x 45 x 11 feet, built along the railroad track according to plans furnished by the Wright Company. Beside them was a small headquarters building, while one of these hangars was used as a barracks for the enlisted men.⁵ A tent served as the emergency hospital, and the hangar in the middle of the field from which Rex Smith was operating was moved over to the line of the Signal Corps hangars. With these changes the field achieved a company street a third of a mile long.

Before the field could become a school, it needed personnel. The first officer assigned was First Lieutenant Roy C. Kirtland, 14th Infantry, who reported for duty April 3. He took charge of the construction work at College Park, and in two months had half the field levelled and most of the buildings up. Captain Charles DeF. Chandler, Signal Corps, was ordered east to command the new school. A "ballunatic" of some experience, he had already earned something of an aeronautical reputation. He arrived and

also made three flights with Wilbur Wright in 1909. Before College Park opened in June, 1911, however, Foulois was back on ground duty with the Signal Corps. He served as Chief of Air Corps, 1931-1935, retiring as Major General.

⁴ Although newspaper accounts generally give a rough estimate of 3000 feet, the figure used is based on greater authority than a reporter's estimate—Charles DeF. Chandler and Frank P. Lahm, *How Our Army Grew Wings* (New York, 1943), p. 194. Although General Lahm has a large body of papers on his own, as well as those "inherited" from the late Colonel Chandler, footnote citations in this article will be to the published book.

⁵ Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 194. According to newspaper accounts, and also to Colonel Stephen Idzorek, who was a sergeant at the time, the men slept in the rear of each hangar; interview February 26, 1952.

immediately took command on June 20, 1911. A surgeon was assigned to College Park in the person of First Lieutenant John P. Kelley, Medical Reserve Corps, U. S. A. Kelley, a Spanish-American War Veteran, had been on duty with the Panama Canal Commission, and was now made the first "Flight Surgeon." He was to remain until he left active duty in the fall of 1912.⁶

The first detachment of enlisted men arrived in June. Two of the 15 "specialists," Sergeants Ward and Idzorek, had been with Lieutenant Foulois in Texas, but could hardly qualify as mechanics extraordinary. So Henry S. Molineau was hired and served for two years as civilian mechanic, a post which has long since been abolished.

But a flying school needs more than ground personnel; it needs instructors. And at the moment the Signal Corps did not have a single pilot on flying duty so the files were searched for applications for flight training. There were few enough, for there was little reason why a young man should try to kill himself in the airplanes of the period. Thus Captain Cowan, the officer assigned to the recruiting job, had his work cut out for him. But he remembered a happy-go-lucky youngster who had served under him in the Philippines, Second Lieutenant Henry H. ("Pewt") Arnold, 29th Infantry, and cabled him the offer to become one of the first students.⁷ The other officer selected at the same time, Second Lieutenant Thomas DeW. ("Dashing") Milling, 15th Cavalry, was daring enough to have become the Army's top polo player.

Arnold and Milling were sent to Dayton, Ohio, where they received a few months of training under the Wright brothers.⁸ The actual flight time they put in was incredibly short. Over a period of ten days Arnold, in 28 flights averaging eight minutes each, accumulated a total time of three hours and 48 minutes, much of it in landing and taxiing, but nevertheless satisfied his instructor as to his ability to fly. Milling's time of two hours 15 minutes was sufficient to set the first of many aviation records, in which process he became the Army's foremost pilot prior to World War I.⁹

⁶ War Department Special Order 141, June 17, 1911.

⁷ Benjamin F. Castle to Mrs. H. H. Arnold, March 31, 1952. Castle was a West Point classmate of Arnold's who served with him until he went into the Aeronautical Section.

⁸ War Department Special Order # 95, paragraph 10, 21 April 1911.

⁹ This opinion has been expressed by Colonel Stephen Idzorek in an interview

Most of the training time was used in studying construction, engines, and winds, with leisure time spent in the balancing machine. The Wrights were well ahead of the common practices and had a well-deserved reputation for thoroughness. Their style of training became practically the basis of the present system.

Most instructors let their fledgling "hop" along on the ground, finally making short, straight flights. Eventually he would learn to turn and to complete a circle. The Wrights, however, went up with their students, first let them handle the controls one at a time, then let them fly the airplane, and at last let them "solo." When Milling and Arnold arrived at College Park on June 15, they brought this latter method of instruction with them.¹⁰

Meantime, several other officers had been in training under Glen Curtiss at San Antonio, Texas, but with indifferent success. One had been recalled to his branch before his training was completed; one, Lieutenant G. E. M. Kelly, had been killed; while only Captain Paul W. Beck had been "graduated." This training was on a single-seater Curtiss. Beck was ordered to College Park, where he waited over a month for the arrival of his Curtiss, being unable to fly a Wright.

College Park is considered to have gone into operation June 23, just after Captain Chandler took command, but at that time there was still one item lacking — airplanes. The Wright B which Foulois had been flying since April arrived shortly after this, and by July 1 a second Wright B had arrived. Arnold and Milling eagerly set about teaching their first two students — Captain Chandler and Lieutenant Kirtland, respectively. Of the 127 flights during this first month, 56 were carrying passengers or students.

There were, however, limitations as to how much could be taught. One awkward feature was the control arrangement of the side-by-side Wrights. Since Arnold and Milling had learned in the right hand seat, they flew that way. Thus Chandler and Kirtland were trained in the lefthand seat. Unfortunately the nature of the controls was such that a pilot trained for one position could not change to the other, hence, when a right-hand pilot would be called upon to replace a left-hand pilot, there was nothing to do

February 26, 1952, and by General Arnold in "Pioneers of the Air Trails," p. 32. The article was written in 1925 but never published.

¹⁰ Arnold, "Pioneers of the Air Trails," pp. 28-29.

but to revise the equipment set up on the airplane. This situation was finally overcome a year later by duplicate controls.¹¹

A greater problem, however, was the lack of knowledge of anyone in regard to the air. Many accidents were blamed on "air holes," huge gaps in the sky, since no one could explain them, and few men lived to tell what had caused a crash. Thus there was actually little enough to teach a student. "We would compare notes after each day's flying so that each could have the benefit of the other's experience,"¹² Arnold wrote later. While Atwood, Hoxey, and Johnstone were making national reputations, the pilots at College Park were thus pushing back the frontiers of the unknown.¹³

Today many vast organizations are doing much in the way of research, and the general public never hears of them. This was not true of the Aviation Section in 1911. The airplane then was still a novelty. Since there were only three flying officers in the Army that summer, their names naturally became common knowledge. Newspapermen, such as John J. ("Jack") Daly of the *Washington Post* (still a well known Washington journalist), John Mitchell of the *Star*, and Dick Richards of the *Times*, were in constant contact with affairs at College Park, and kept the names of the officers stationed there well publicized in and around Washington. When, for example, Arnold was trying to set a new altitude record (his favorite pastime all summer), one editorial page carried the comment: "The next time Lt. Arnold tries for an altitude record we wish he would bring the mercury back down with him."¹⁴

Of course the aviators had something to say also. A report of the newly formed "Cloud Club," which consisted of all pilots at College Park, civilian or military, together with the Navy "non-residents," reads as follows:

At the most recent meeting of the Club the Fair-Haired Boy, who flies a Wrong biplane, said he wanted to take up, as a matter of personal pri-

¹¹ General H. H. Arnold, "I Learn to Fly in Ten Days," as told to Ernest Jones (editor, *Washington Post*), pp. 4-5.

¹² Arnold, "Pioneers of the Air Trails," p. 39.

¹³ Newspapers were fond of using this expression in emphasizing the value of the "Air Service."

¹⁴ Newspaper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 38. General Arnold collected a large number of newspaper clippings on College Park, with no regard as to the newspaper or date. These are pasted in a thick scrapbook labelled *Aero Section, College Park, 1911-1912*. Clippings from the Augusta papers covering the winter of 1911-12 are also included.

vilege, the practise of Washington papers, of killing an aviator every time there was a flight at the Park. The Senior Brunette said that was only too true. The morning papers had him 'narrowly escape death' every day for three weeks in succession. He said he was willing to do anything in reason to keep up interest in aviation and to furnish reading in the public press; but he protested that these narrow escapes from death were becoming monotonous.¹⁵

The proximity to Washington had a further drawback in the flood of visitors. As one Sunday supplement pointed out, "Visitors come from all over the place. They come by train, trolley, wagons, bicycles, motor cycles, and in touring cars."¹⁶ Officers were instructed to answer patiently any and all questions. Any newspaper of the period carries a list of common questions, and of these the two that appeared most frequently at College Park were "How do they flap the wings?" and 'That isn't the engine, is it? That?' This later question was called forth by the small size of the Wright's four cylinder engine.¹⁷

An excellent example of the novelty of the airplane can be found in the story of the Atwood hoax. On June 30, Henry N. Atwood, who had startled the country by flying from St. Louis to New York, proposed to fly from New England to Washington. On this date he left Squantum, Massachusetts. All went well as far as Atlantic City, New Jersey. Here a crash on takeoff delayed him for sometime, and later he was held in Baltimore due to bad weather. So for some days, the citizens of Washington were rushing out of doors every time someone saw a box-kite and started the cry "Atwood is coming."

On July 10 "Pewt" Arnold, with Roy Kirtland as passenger, decided to do something about the situation. The following account is from a number of Washington newspapers.

Arnold came across the city and circled the Capitol at 2,400 feet. Streets and roofs were soon covered with people, while the Mall had some 4,000 people on it. The Senate, which was in the midst of a roll-call, hastily adjourned, after such decorous members as Lodge, Penrose, and Root had disappeared through the exits. Vice-President Sherman rounded up some colleagues on the way, and "ignored the speed laws" driving to the White

¹⁵ *Washington Star*, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 27.

¹⁶ Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 23.

¹⁷ Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 26.

House grounds, where Atwood was to land. The Chamber of Commerce burned up the telephone lines arranging for a banquet and inviting guests.

Meanwhile Arnold put on an aerial show for the crowd, then to their disappointment headed back to College Park. Probably the Chamber of Commerce was exasperated, but, from the tone of the newspapers, no one was particularly angry about the episode. Arnold and Kirtland were even able to explain it officially quite easily.

With the arrival of the additional officers in the area in late June, the little field had become crowded. College Park was small, and there were no rooms for rent. Although in 1909 Wilbur Wright had lived nearby with the Evershields, while Lahm and Humphrey had resided at the adjacent home of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, no such openings were available in 1911. This meant that the officers lived in Washington and commuted by railroad or automobile, frequently four times a day, since flying took place only early in the morning and late in the evening, when there was almost no wind. Wind or rain quickly grounded the flimsy biplanes of 1911.

It was on a rainy and windy day however, near the end of July that Representative Ben Johnson of Kentucky, Chairman of the House District Committee, went up. It was bad weather all the way, but Johnson had gone to too much trouble to get permission for the flight to let it go by. Lieutenant Arnold finally took him up for a 20-minute flight, thus making Johnson the first man not connected with the Signal Corps to go up in an Army plane.¹⁸

Late in July Captain Beck and the often rebuilt Curtiss arrived. This airplane, which had been seriously smashed up when Lieutenant George Kelly had been killed and had been generously spread around the Texas landscape since then, was in for another rebuilding. It had hardly arrived before Beck made a forced landing, piling it up in a chicken yard near Laurel.¹⁹

When Second Lieutenant Frank M. Kennedy, 10th Infantry, reported for training on August 3, the school considered itself as

¹⁸ Paper unknown, date unknown, *Aero Section*, p. 31.

¹⁹ "Chapter III," p. 4. This untitled manuscript of six chapters is apparently a preliminary draft of the first six chapters of General Arnold's autobiography, *Global Mission*.

a school. The Army had at last assigned a student from another station. From this time on the school increased in size and importance, slowly, to be sure, but steadily. By August, two large new 50 x 50 feet hangars were being built. The size of the post was further increased by more enlisted personnel. By November the school boasted six officers and 39 enlisted men.²⁰

Due to the low pay of a second lieutenant, and the natural desire to live a little more comfortably, the pilots requested permission to enter various air meets in the larger cities. This permission was readily granted. Captain Beck went to Chicago in August, primarily as an observer, since foreign planes always predominated. Milling won the tri-state meet at Boston, while Arnold, Milling, and Beck all entered the big Nassau Boulevard meet on Long Island at the end of September. Milling set another one of his records in landing. Arnold was able to add even further to his income by flying for two aerial movies of J. Stuart Blacton. Although the Army would not permit its own pilots and airplanes to enter a meet, it readily granted leave to any officer who wanted to enter on his own.

Regulation flying was not called off during these months. The most important flight made was the historic cross-country hop to Frederick. Lieutenant Arnold was pilot and Captain Chandler passenger on this novel trip.

When Brigadier General George H. Harries, Commanding the District of Columbia National Guard encampment at Frederick, received an answer to his invitation to visit the encampment, the telegram had said two planes were coming. However, the second airplane, with Milling and Kirtland, had engine failure, and was forced down near Kensington. Arnold and Chandler, in the Burgess-Wright, left College Park at 6:34 A. M. and arrived at Camp Ordway at 7:23 A. M., making the 42 mile flight without incident. According to previous arrangements, when the airplane was sighted at Frederick, all factory whistles were to blow, in order to give employees the chance to see the first airplane that had visited the locality. Many offices remained closed all day, to allow employees to see an airplane "up close."

After a pleasant day, Arnold and Chandler started for home at 6:30 P. M. A considerable headwind reduced speed, so that

²⁰ Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

dusk, combined with a haziness of the lower air, seriously impaired visibility. Soon landmarks were invisible, and a forced landing was necessary to find out where they were. A successful landing was made in an open field, but the subsequent takeoff was not as happy, the landing skids being broken. The only thing to do was to leave the airplane where it sat on the farm of G. W. Bartlett, near Gaithersburg. So the pilots climbed aboard a train and returned to College Park the easy way.

The next morning Arnold accompanied the truck that went to the scene of the accident. Here he found a young boy charging five cents a customer for the privilege of sitting in the machine for three minutes! The only actual loss was the manufacturer's nameplate, which some "souvenir maniac" had stolen. Since several airplanes had already been rebuilt around these nameplates, the loss of this identification mark was the cause of much of the immediate chagrin at College Park.

This flight attracted attention nationally, but in Frederick it was looked upon only as the first flight over Frederick County. Shortly thereafter the Frederick Board of Trade commemorated the occasion by presenting suitably engraved silver cigarette cases to Captain Chandler and Lieutenant Arnold.²¹

Continually flying over the "enemy" and being unable to do anything but gaze down upon him, finally had its effect on the dashing lieutenants. Since there were no such things as aerial bombs, Arnold drafted Irish potatoes as a substitute. Using a canvas tarpaulin for a target he tried hand bombing with the spuds. His accuracy, however, was very poor.

It was just at this time that Riley E. Scott, former Coast Artillery Officer, appeared at College Park with the first bomb-sight. This 64-pound sight was affixed to one of the Wright planes and Scott acted as bombardier on most of the experimental flights. Due to the added weight of the sight a light pilot was necessary and Lieutenant Milling was assigned the job. Experiments were quite successful at an altitude of 400 feet. Although Scott recognized the necessity for a bombing altitude of 3,000 feet, the indifference of the Army and the Paris International bomb dropping competition both contributed to the abrupt ending of the experiment.²²

²¹ Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

²² Scott won the Michelin prize for accuracy at Paris. Both Germany and France

As fall closed in, changes began to take place in pilot's clothing. In the past, a reversed cap, to keep it from flying off, was the only badge of the airman. Now Army specifications for airplanes were more rigid. The 1912 models would be heavier, faster, and more powerful. The pilot was changing with it.

It should be pointed out that the Army Air Service was not an isolated body. Airmen were so few that they were all known to each other, at least by reputation. So it was only natural that there was much fraternization between the Army pilots at College Park and the Navy pilots at Annapolis. Thus information and improvements by one branch immediately were passed on to the other. When Lieutenant Arnold was hit in the eye by a bug and almost lost control of his machine, the Army adopted goggles. Shortly the Navy was using them. Flying over water was cold, so the Navy adopted leather jackets and soon they appeared at College Park. When Lieutenant Kennedy hit the ground too hard and was catapulted onto his head some fifty feet away where "he cracked a vertebra, cut his face and made a hole in the ground a foot deep,"²³ helmets made their appearance at both stations. But it took a naval accident to introduce the safety belt.

Lieutenant Towers²⁴ and Billingsley were up in a Wright biplane. Billingsley, the pilot, was thrown clear and killed. Towers, a Curtiss trained pilot, could not handle the Wright controls, but he did manage to balance his weight between the wings sufficiently to reduce the severity of the crash. He lashed himself to the floats, and was only badly shaken up when a boat's crew pulled him aboard. Almost simultaneously, Annapolis and College Park adopted safety belts.

Unfortunately, the latitude of College Park was not conducive to the flying of 40-horsepower biplanes in winter. So a new cold weather site was necessary for the school. There were two requirements—winds of less than four miles per hour and winter temperature above 32 degrees. The Weather Bureau located three points that would be ideal: Augusta, San Antonio, and San Diego. The latter two had been flying fields, but Augusta was

adopted the bomb-sight. The only other "bombardier" in the College Park tests was Sergeant Idzorek. Interview with Colonel S. Idzorek, February 26, 1952; Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-209.

²³ "Chapter IV," p. 5, same MSS described in footnote 19. Even allowing for the exaggerated statement, serious damage was done.

²⁴ Admiral John D. ("Jack") Towers was the Navy Air Chief in World War II.

closest. So on the afternoon of November 28 a train of nine cars pulled away from College Park, carrying six officers, 80 enlisted men, and four airplanes. They arrived in Augusta the following day, where, to quote General Arnold "we learned there not to count too heavily on what a weather man says."²⁵ The weather was freezing.

Soon after their arrival, the pilots nearly lost their airplanes, when a heavy snowstorm threatened to collapse the canvas hangars. By the second storm, they were prepared. According to the citizens, this was the first time since 1898 such storms had appeared.

The two Curtiss pilots, Beck and Kennedy, arrived from Washington in January, 1912, in time for the second storm. Then the snow melted, and the Savannah river came up, flooding the field to a four-foot depth. The only answer was to learn to fly in mud. Here Captain Beck kept up his reputation by smashing a new Curtiss scout into a tree six inches in diameter when trying to take off in a crosswind, the way the Wright pilots were doing. On April 1, 1912, the flying camp was closed and a ten-car train started home for College Park.

Some changes were taking place at the school, meantime. The Quartermaster Department put up hangar No. 7, 50½ by 69 feet, in preparation for the new "weight carrier" airplanes on order. This requirement of additional payload, and later armor, changed the flying machines into military aircraft. When the enlisted men returned to College Park from the South, they set to work using the spare lumber that was left to build a small headquarters building.

On April 11 the Aviation Section grew considerably as Captain Frederick B. Hennessy, 3rd Field Artillery, was transferred to College Park from nearby Fort Myer. Lieutenant Harold Geiger had arrived the day before. These officers reported in time to go to the Aeronautic Exposition in New York in May.

The Aero Club of Washington gave its own Exposition as part of a celebration to honor the memory of Dr. Samuel P. Langley, one of the pioneers of heavier-than-air flight. Three airplanes from College Park, led by Chandler, made the first Army mass cross-country flight to the Chevy Chase Golf Club on May 6.

²⁵ "Chapter IV," p. 8.

At this time the first "military" airplane arrived. It was designated "Wright, type C." This scout was larger and stronger than its forerunners and had a more powerful engine. Orville Wright arrived to test the airplane and A. L. ("Al") Welch, a Wright test pilot, came to carry out the tests. Since Lieutenants Milling and Arnold had been trained by the Wrights, and Arnold had taken his instruction from Welch, the last part of May was like "Old Home Week."

This situation made the events of June 11 all the worse. Welch took the airplane up for its 17th test flight. Accompanying him as passenger was Lt. Leighton W. Hazelhurst, Jr., who had joined the group at Augusta the preceding winter. Apparently Welch tried to dive to gain momentum for a climb, but for reasons undetermined he never pulled out of that dive. Both Welch and Hazelhurst were killed instantly. This disaster—the first at College Park—coming only a few days after the unexpected death of Wilbur Wright, had a very depressing effect on all the personnel. Flags even in the village of College Park went to half mast.

One of the best means of restoring a person is to divert his attention, and this is just what Captain Chandler did for School personnel. Colonel Isaac N. Lewis brought one of his first Machine Guns to College Park to have it tested from an airplane. Captain Chandler agreed and undertook the handling of the gun himself. Lieutenant Milling was the pilot.

This early Lewis gun was air-cooled, but otherwise was basically the same as the later model. Chandler fired it under supervision to become acquainted with it. Set at 500 shots per minute, the 50-cartridge drum could be emptied in six seconds.

The first "attack" was made in a Wright B with the gun resting on the cross-bar, along with the officers' feet. Coming along the hanger line at 250 feet altitude, Milling passed over the 6 x 7 feet cheesecloth target three times. Even with no sights on the gun, Chandler made five direct hits on this small target. However, these hits could not be seen from the air, so Milling continued over the fishponds, where Chandler fired a long burst where he could watch the spacing of the shots.

The following day a larger target, two yards by 18 yards, was used with an altitude of 550 feet. Fourteen of 44 shots hit it.

Since this was based as much on Milling's steady flying as Chandler's timing, the rate of hits is surprisingly high.²⁶

The press followed these experiments closely, but the War Department explicitly stated that the airplane was suitable only for reconnaissance purposes. Nevertheless, a request for ten Lewis guns was approved by the Chief Signal Officer, but, of course, the Ordnance Department had none in stock. Unfortunately, the Army's Benet-Mercier required a clear space of about 18 inches on each side of the gun, and this was impossible in the airplanes of the period. Thus the results of the experiments were nil.

About this same time Captain Chandler was overtaken by dusk while returning from Annapolis. He located the signal lights of the B & O and followed the railroad to College Park. Burning oil and gasoline markets made possible a safe landing. This aroused interest in night flying, and several pilots, Lieutenant Milling especially, made a number of safe landings in the dark.

As the summer of 1912 progressed, three more officers received their pilot's certificates. Lieutenants Graham and Sherman and Captain Hennessy were now qualified pilots. Lieutenant Graham even got a chance to go along with the others early in August when the Army decided to try aerial observation in connection with the maneuvers in Connecticut. During these maneuvers, Lieutenant Foulois made several flights, testing out the aerial radio he had developed. The weight of the radio was such that no passenger could be carried, so a telegraph key had to be operated by a hand which was still on the controls. In spite of this difficulty, radioed information was transmitted about 12 miles.

The pride of the aviation section, the new Burgess-Wright "tractor"-type plane, was supposed to be available for these maneuvers. The first tractor in the U. S. Army, it had greater power and higher speed than any of its pusher-type predecessors. However, it was at the Burgess factory in Marblehead, Massachusetts. The attempt of Lieutenants Arnold and Kirtland to bring it down to South Duxbury, Connecticut—only 114 miles—is a story in itself.

With the unavailability of its best airplane, several days of

²⁶ Most data on these tests appear to be estimates, so this account is based entirely on Chandler and Lahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.

impossible flying weather, and finally Foulois's capture by the "enemy," along with his airplane, the aviation section did not show up too well in this, their first, maneuver.

By the time the failure of this mission had worn off, and flights were becoming more common due to Indian summer weather, disaster struck again at College Park.

September 28 was an exceptionally fine day, and some 300 people, including Colonel George P. Scriven, Acting Chief Signal Officer, were at the field to watch flying. Lieutenant Lewis C. Rockwell, who had received his pilot's certificate only three days before, took up one of the Wright planes, with Corporal Frank S. Scott, the airplane's chief mechanic, as passenger. Rockwell came over the hangars at about 25 feet altitude, and tried to open the throttle. Pusher-type propellers would drive the airplane into a dive under the circumstances, and at such a low altitude, he could not pull out. Corporal Scott died instantly. Lieutenant Rockwell was taken to Walter Reed Hospital where he died three hours later.

This made four fatalities for College Park in 1912. These pioneers were proving the hard way that the pusher-type airplane was a death trap compared to the more easily handled tractor. The crashes also had the effect of cutting down on Congressional requests to go up as passengers.

In spite of the obvious danger, new officers kept reporting for duty. For that matter, one could say "in spite of War Department policy to the contrary," new candidates were assigned. Following a new plan of indoctrination, however, they were sent to one of the three aircraft companies—Wright, Curtiss, or Burgess—for elementary instruction, rather than directly to College Park. Even so, there were ten officers on duty at College Park by the fall of 1912, only one of whom—Lieutenant John P. Kelley, the medical officer—was not a pilot.

The first competition for the Mackay trophy was held on October 9. This was to be presented annually to the pilot contributing the most to Army aviation. A specific competition was laid out this time, which required a 20-mile flight, military reconnaissance of troops in a given triangular area, and an accurate landing, with a report of the troops' location, and composition.

The only two competitors were Lieutenants Arnold and Milling,

since Kirtland couldn't get his airplane started. Milling, growing sick, was forced to turn back. Arnold, locating the troops maneuvering near Falls Church, Virginia, was declared the first winner.²⁷

In November the Field Artillery Board at Fort Riley, Kansas, asked for an airplane to spot for the guns. As Captain Hennessey was a field artillery officer, he was sent to co-ordinate the efforts of the two pilots, Arnold and Milling, and the batteries. Here many of the signalling problems of World War I first arose.

In the meantime it was getting cold at College Park. Also, Glen Curtiss had offered to let the Army use part of his field at North Island, San Diego. So the War Department split the aviation section. The Curtiss pilots, equipment, and crews went to San Diego, while the Wright men went back to Augusta. For all practical purposes, this ended the Army's use of College Park.

Lieutenant Arnold was returned to the Office, Chief of the Signal Corps. In good old Army style, he was given several jobs "in addition to your other duties." He was Aide to the Chief Signal Officer; Chief of the Aviation Section, Signal Corps; acting Commander of College Park (he was the only officer left.)

Then on the last day of February, 1913, the Wright section at Augusta received hasty orders to report to the Second Division at Texas City, Texas. They were eventually to join the other half of the aviation section at San Diego.

So in the Spring of 1913, Arnold would go out to College Park, clean up what work he had to do in a few hours, and go back to Washington to take in a baseball game. The future Mrs. Arnold (Eleanor Alexander Pool, of Philadelphia), who accompanied him, was shocked at the destruction, as the flying school began to disappear. Piles of office desks and chairs, torn down hangars, and building walls were piled up, covered with gasoline, and burned. As Mrs. Arnold was to learn, government property which is assigned can rarely be reassigned, and the only answer is destruction.

Then in June, 1913, Lieutenant Arnold looked over the field, found all government material removed or destroyed, and informed the Chief Signal Officer that College Park was officially closed.²⁸

²⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Arnold received the Mackay trophy a second time for his bomber flight and photographic mission to Alaska in 1934. He is the only officer ever to have received the trophy twice.

²⁸ Interview with Mrs. H. H. Arnold, March 27, 1952.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810. By ROGER PATTRELL BRISTOL. Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1953. xxviii, 310 pp. \$7.50.

With the publication of Mr. Bristol's work the history of the output of the Maryland press has been carried from its beginning in 1685 to the year 1810, a consecutive record of local printing covering a century and a quarter of colonial life and of the life of the Revolutionary and Federal periods. Mr. Bristol carries on helpfully the work of the present reviewer, of the late Joseph Towne Wheeler, and of Miss A. Rachel Minick in listing the product of the printers of Annapolis, Baltimore, and all other Maryland towns in which the press was established in that period. Because of this continuity of study, Maryland, I believe, stands second to no other colony in the extent of the period for which its printed production has been recorded.

The term of years covered by the present work, 1801-1810, has not in this country the romantic interest of the colonial and Revolutionary periods, nor the feeling of political tension of the period of the Constitution. Rather it was a decade in which a relaxed and prosperous community took stock of itself and settled down upon a sound basis in many aspects of life—social, political, and religious. It was also a period in which occurred a great geographical expansion of the country and a new complexity in its European relationships. Every printed piece of those ten years, in Maryland or elsewhere, therefore, deserves the sort of record Mr. Bristol has made of it in his bibliography.

It is a pleasure to praise Mr. Bristol warmly for his industry and for the employment of various devices which add up to successful bibliographical organization, such devices, for example, as the chronological arrangement of his titles; cross references to earlier bibliographies; references to sources of information about doubtful publications; references to official orders to print; and, finally, to newspaper notices of publication.

On the debit side regret must be expressed, by the present reviewer at least, that Mr. Bristol did not preface his work by a section comprising a narrative account of the Maryland press in his period. Certain economies in the compilation of the list of imprints also seem ill judged. The omission for example, of newspaper entries from the record of any single year of printing in a given community leaves us with an incomplete picture of the life of that year in that place. There are also in Mr. Bristol's book signs of hasty proofreading: the Evergreen Library (page xxviii) was

formerly owned by John W. Garrett, not Robert W. Garrett; the great bibliography of Mason Locke Weems (page x) was by Paul Leicester Ford and his sister Emily Ford Skeel, not by "Weems, Mason L."; Evans's *American Bibliography*, 1903-1934, and Sabin's *Dictionary of American Books*, 1868-1936, were published respectively in twelve and twenty-nine volumes, a fact of significance omitted from the entries of these works of reference.

We return from this digression to the pleasanter task of thanking Mr. Bristol for providing the historian with one more source for the study of an interesting decade in the life of Maryland and of the nation.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

John Carter Brown Library

The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921.

By JOHN TRACY ELLIS. Milwaukee: Bruce Publ. Co., 1952. 2 vols.
\$17.50.

James Cardinal Gibbons was the second Cardinal of the Catholic Church in America. His life and work coincided with a period of great stress in the development of both the United States and the Catholic Church. His student days at St. Charles College were shadowed by the Know Nothing mobs in nearby Baltimore. Ordained in 1861, young Gibbons spent the war years as a parish priest in a Baltimore unhappily divided against itself. When raised to the vicariate as Bishop of North Carolina in 1868, he spent four years in the aftermath of war among a defeated people. Five years as Bishop of Richmond followed and from 1877 to his death in 1921 Gibbons was Archbishop of Baltimore. When only fifty-two James Gibbons received the Red Hat of a Prince of the Church. As a leading American prelate the young Cardinal was deeply involved with the difficult problems occasioned by the tremendous tide of migration to the United States. The relative ease with which diverse foreign born groups were assimilated into the rapidly growing Church was frequently the result of Gibbon's diplomacy and statesmanship.

Throughout his career Cardinal Gibbons insisted he was a citizen first and a prelate second. He missed no opportunity to contrast the strength of the American Church with the obvious difficulties of the Church in France and Italy. He attributed the superior strength of the American Church to its independence of state support and control. Gibbons consistently opposed action by the Vatican on issues related to American politics. He sought to prevent Papal condemnation of Henry George's Single Tax. He fought for the rights of Americans to join the many secret fraternal societies which flourished here and advised against any action from Rome which might have abridged the right of Americans to join the Knights of Labor.

John Tracy Ellis, Professor of American Church History in the Catholic

University of America, has written the definitive biography of Cardinal Gibbons. He has also given historians a long start on a much needed history of the Catholic hierarchy in America. Six years spent in research and writing, obviously a labor of love, have resulted in a worthwhile and scholarly study. It is perhaps unfortunate that the personal detail, which make the Cardinal come alive, were saved for a final chapter. The result of this organization of material is that Gibbons, throughout most of the two volumes, appears to have been a somewhat wooden figure for whose startling rise in the Church hierarchy there is no satisfactory explanation. This lack seems especially unfortunate when it appears that Gibbons' simplicity and sincerity, fully described in only the final chapter, were so near the heart of his success—both within the Church and in the nation at large.

DAVID S. SPARKS

University of Maryland

Twenty-eighth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. Baltimore, 1953. 94 pp.

This *Report*, issued three years after the previous one, contains a well-balanced collection of papers on the influence of Germans in America and in Maryland. It begins, appropriately enough, with Dr. Ernest J. Becker's sketch on the local Society from its founding in 1886. Then follows a survey of German-American historical societies in the country, an address by the late Dr. Albert B. Faust before the annual meeting in 1946. Dr. Dieter Cunz's essay on the immigration and integration of the German-Americans provides a valuable statement of the entire trans-Atlantic movement, especially in its concise summary of German contributions to American life.

Dr. Paul B. Gleis offers interesting comments on Maryland by eighteenth century German travellers, particularly the "Hessians" Riedesel, Schoepf, and Closen. Klaus G. Wust supplies a study of German printing in the Valley of Virginia, with checklists of newspapers, books, and broadsides issued from 1789 to 1834. Baltimore medical history is covered by two items: Therese S. Westermeyer's remarks on the Vogeler drug company, and Dr. Cunz's notes on the Wiesenthal genealogy. Original materials include a full translation of William Rapp's letter describing the riots of April, 1861, which wrecked the offices of his paper, the *Baltimore Wecker*; and a recent letter from Mrs. Olive Patton of Frostburg discussing the role played by German miners in the coal strikes of Western Maryland during the 1870's and 1880's.

The editor, Dr. A. E. Zucker, in an introductory statement, brings up to date the bibliography of items dealing with the Maryland Germans. To him is due much of the credit for this superior example of publication by a small and specialized organization.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College

Epidemics in Colonial America. By JOHN DUFFY. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 274 pp. \$4.50.

This little volume, written by a non-medical historian, carries much of the quaint charm of the colonial lingo for it is largely a series of quotations from contemporary diaries, letters, and church records over the 175 year span from 1600 to 1775. The story is exceedingly grim and full of family and community tragedy. It will leave most North American readers with a sense of gratitude that those days are gone forever, that malaria and dysentery are no longer the chief causes of economic loss and physical suffering and that smallpox and yellow fever are not the sudden and terrifying killers that they were.

There was no modern medical science, inoculation with true smallpox matter which killed or prevented, as if by chance, had not been replaced by vaccination, and quackery or favorite recipes published in the gazettes of the day or passed from family to family were the chief available remedies. Epidemics were considered "God's anger" for the sins of mankind and "but vain is human [effort to prevent] the Acts of Divine Providence."

There is a fascination, none the less, in being taken into the day-by-day family and community life of the ancestors, when Indians were killed off in droves, military campaigns were halted and legislatures failed to meet because of the prevailing distempers. Governors sent condolences to the tribes but "Epidemics played a notable role in eliminating the Indian menace. . . . Smallpox was the greatest of these Indian scourges. . . . In peace and war epidemic diseases were transmitted to the Indians with devastating results." In addition to the diseases mentioned the records for diphtheria, a great killer, scarlet fever, measles, "hooping cough," influenza, typhoid fever and a few other ills are given, with due appreciation that diagnosis was uncertain and vital statistics in a modern sense non-existent.

In summary it may be said that in spite of the enormous losses of life, the colonial communities recovered rapidly after epidemic visitations, large families were the order of the day, and the population grew steadily and prospered. There is an excellent and extensive series of references and a bibliography, with special mention of the two-volume *Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases* . . . of 1799 by Noah Webster of the great dictionary, and of the splendid volumes on medicine in early Virginia by Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton.

HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, M. D.

Seedtime of the Republic. By CLINTON ROSSITER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953. xiv, 558 pp. \$7.50.

There has been a tendency in American historiography to over-emphasize events in discussing the origins of our Republic. Much less attention has been paid to the intellectual history of pre-Revolutionary times which con-

tributed so significantly to the monumental thought structure underlying the movements for national independence and human freedom. Mr. Rossiter's incisive inquiry into the sources of these vibrant ideas has done much to correct this imbalance.

Seedtime of the Republic is divided into three parts. The first section searches for the wellsprings of the Revolution's libertarian principles by presenting a scholarly tour of the political, religious, economic, sociological and cultural environments of colonial America. In the context of these environments, the role of individuals in molding the climate of opinion from which activities on behalf of freedom and revolution grew is not ignored. The second part, therefore, offers succinct descriptions of the lives and thought of Thomas Hooker, Roger Williams, John Wise, Jonathan Mayhew, Richard Bland, and Benjamin Franklin—"the most notable political thinkers in the colonial period." The last section is concerned with the growing expression of various libertarian ideas between 1765 and 1775, and concludes with a masterful endeavor by the author to organize the principles of the Revolution into a systematized and coherent political philosophy.

In reading this volume, the author's tendency to make generalized statements concerning complex historical problems is apparent. Yet one cannot avoid excusing this proclivity in view of the huge canvas upon which this study is painted. Rossiter's clarity of expression and superb organization more than compensate for this and other minor drawbacks. The scholarly and creative excellence of his attempt to trace the origins of, and to systematize Revolutionary political theory make this volume imperative reading for those who would understand the traditional philosophical framework of American society. *Seedtime of the Republic* is without doubt one of the most significant and stimulating books to appear in many years.

DONALD R. MCCOY

State University of New York, Cortland

America Rebels, Narratives of the Patriots. Edited by RICHARD M. DORSON. New York: Pantheon Books, 1953. xi, 347 pp. \$5.

Professor Dorson of Michigan State College has strung together fourteen accounts from diaries, memoirs, journals, and other sources by various Revolutionary War figures of larger and lesser importance. Often dramatic and exciting, always interesting, these accounts provide a survey of the entire Revolution from "Opening Shots" to "Postwar." And, in so doing, the author includes recollections regarding the war in the west, on the sea, the loyalist viewpoint, prisoners of war, etc. While the volume has received praise elsewhere (winner of the American History Publication Society Award), this reviewer believes it will be attractive only to the indiscriminating layman, of little value to the professional historian.

Several of the accounts, for example, were written long after the Revolu-

tion. Israel Potter did not transcribe his tale until the 1820s; Thomas Dring in 1825; James Thacher kept a diary from 1775-1783, but polished it for publication in 1823; no date is mentioned of the actual writing of Thomas Andros' story, but it did not see the light of day until 1833. A natural suspicion is aroused, a suspicion concerning the accuracy and even the honesty of the memory of old men. An effort should have been made to check the incidents they recount, to attempt to corroborate or invalidate their perhaps faulty memories. Professor Dorson offers no comment; in fact, mixes these recollections with on-the-spot diaries and other truly contemporary accounts. Some of the latter are well known to historians—those, for example, of Ethan Allen and George Rogers Clark. Their validity, their bias, (and thus, their relative importance) have been discussed many times. Dorson includes excerpts from these famous sources, sandwiching them indiscriminately with little known memoirs written forty or fifty years later.

In sacrificing the solid for the spectacular, Professor Dorson has omitted such famous Revolutionary War memoirs as those of Christopher Marshall, William Heath, Henry Lee, William M. Willet, David Fanning, and William Moultrie. The choice was his, however, and no fault can be found with Dorson's marvelous introduction and prefatory comments to each selection.

MORTON BORDEN

Ohio State University

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. (Volume VI, 1781-1784.) Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952. xxxvi, 668 pp. \$10.

This volume of the *Papers* covers a period of personal crisis in the life of Jefferson. The years 1781-1782 in particular were times of bitterness for him. His political conduct as Governor of Virginia was made the object of calumny, and attempts were made to institute an official inquiry of his actions. This undeserved act of callousness almost led to his complete renunciation of political life. On top of disillusionment with public office was added a more serious blow—on September 6, 1782, his wife Martha died. Jefferson's morale reached the lowest mark of his entire career.

Out of personal tragedy arose the stoic philosopher. Jefferson renewed his interest in political and intellectual activities, and by the conclusion of the volume he had again taken his place among the leading political architects of the nation. He turned his attention to the principles of government in connection with the Virginia constitution, and he took part in the legislative work of the Continental Congress. Among the more important legislative problems in which he played an important part were the determination of the residence of Congress, the Connecticut-Pennsylvania territorial dispute, and the Ordinance of 1784. His work in bringing the latter to fruition deserves to take its place beside his efforts on behalf of the Declaration of Independence and the Louisiana Purchase,

considering the profound effect that the Ordinance of 1784 has had on the destiny and character of the United States. Marylanders will also be interested in Jefferson's participation in the ceremonies at Annapolis when Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief, December 23, 1783. (Pages 402-409 contain an excellent editorial note on this event.)

Those who are interested in Jefferson as a scientist will find in this volume his growing curiosity about fossil bones and the evolution of his *Notes on Virginia*. The *Notes* began when Jefferson set about gathering information on America in response to some queries sent him by Monsieur de Marbois (François de Barbé-Marbois). Much of the personal correspondence with Clark and Zane, for instance, is in the vein of information gathering.

As in the previous volumes of *Jefferson Papers*, the vision of the editors has made this volume more than a monument to a man: It is a source book of American history. Material of a public archival nature is brought into print, including facsimile samples of government forms Jefferson signed as Governor of Virginia. Some documents relating to the Ordinance of 1784 are here printed for the first time, and scholarly, judicious, editorial notes bring the documents into their historical importance and perspective. All the material of the first six volumes will become more accessible to the reader with the forthcoming index volume.

F. C. H.

The Complete Madison. Edited by SAUL K. PADOVER. New York: Harper, 1953. xi, 361 pp. \$4.

This one-volume edition of James Madison's basic writings is a useful supplement to Irving Brant's partially-completed full-length biography of the man who was perhaps America's most formidable political thinker. With the same critical selectivity which characterized his editing of Jefferson's works, Saul Padover has culled the essence of Madison's thought on the nature of government and society. The result is a representative, if historically incomplete, offering. It includes those *Federalist Papers* known to have been written by the Virginian, approximately one hundred letters bearing on religious, social welfare, and other topics, and an appendix of Madisonian axioms.

Generally, these writings confirm Brandt's picture of Madison as a tough-minded democrat. His philosophy was in many respects antithetical to Hamilton's, despite their collaboration on the *Federalist Papers*. Yet it differed from Jefferson's in that it was less speculative and was grounded more on a balance of interests than on faith in the ultimate rationality of man. Thus in certain areas, including the formulation of the Constitution, Madison's contribution was the greater; and in others, particularly those relating to the American tradition of human rights, the lesser.

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

University of Connecticut

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume II, 1845-1849. Collected and Edited by MARY C. SIMMS OLIPHANT, ALFRED T. ODELL, T. C. DUNCAN EAVES. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1953. viii, 610 pp. \$8.50.

The letters in this volume * reflect almost equally two dominant interests: politics as affecting South Carolina and literary work, now more concerned with editorship and history than with fiction. There are a half dozen letters to Calhoun, whose opinions Simms largely shared, and an active correspondence on literary matters with the northern anthologists, Duyckinck and Griswold, and with Bryant, who was a guest at Woodlands. A letter to Poe in 1846, offering big-brotherly counsel and encouragement, answers a despondent letter from Poe which is not extant. That there was other correspondence is evident from the use by Simms of the phrase "your last letter," but none of it is known to Poe biographers.

Letters to personal friends make it clear that Simms, who served in the State legislature, would have welcomed nomination as lieutenant-governor or a diplomatic mission by an appointment from President Polk, and they reveal so much discouragement with the literary atmosphere of his section that he once toyed with the idea of moving to the North. At the same time they give evidence of his intense loyalty to South Carolina and illuminate its history in a highly significant period. The usual excellence of the editing and the printing of the letters is maintained.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage. By RUTH P. RANDALL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953. 555 pp. \$5.75.

Disappointing as it often is to have popular legends about historic figures disproved, here is a case where truth is a vast improvement over fiction. Portrayed as, at best, the termagant wife of a noble and long suffering husband, at worst, as a traitor to her country, Mary Todd Lincoln has made a dramatic villainess; but the role of villainess has been out of keeping with her place in history. Here at last is a book whose facts, well backed with authentic records, show a woman who was a loving wife and mother, a keen-minded and informed person, a woman of intense loyalties. Mrs. Randall does not, fortunately, make the mistake of going to the opposite extreme in exposing injustices done to Mary Lincoln. She admits, even points out, certain personality defects. One does have the feeling that perhaps these are excused a little too much as traits beyond her control, as reactions to the difficulties faced by a meticulous woman with such a man as Lincoln. Perhaps a less hysterical, better balanced person would have made a better wife for Lincoln, whatever his own faults. But that is

* Review of Volume I in this journal, XLVII (Dec., 1952), 346-347.

neither here nor there; this is the woman he married, and this book gives every reason to believe he was happy in his choice.

Mrs. Randall brings out many interesting facts about the Lincolns and about William Herndon, Mr. Lincoln's biographer. In refuting Herndon's stories about Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Randall goes to some extent into his personality and the reasons for his dislike of his erstwhile partner's wife. One of her most convincing arguments to this reader is how out of keeping with his character are many of the things said to and about his wife attributed to Lincoln. When one analyzes the stories and the man, they become less and less believable.

Mary Lincoln, Biography of a Marriage should appeal to the serious historian as a well-annotated biography and to the reading public as a palatable account of the intimate life of one of its best loved heroes.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America. By RICHARD J. STORR.

Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953. ix, 195 pp. \$5.

The era of graduate study in America formally began when Johns Hopkins University was launched in 1876 under the presidency of Daniel Coit Gilman. Here for the first time in American history eminent scholars were assembled for the sole purpose of instituting a higher level of learning and research than was possible at the college or academy level. The study by Professor Storr ends at the Civil War, but he clearly shows that the Hopkins plan was a product of continuous agitation for educational reform before the Civil War, agitation in which Gilman was an active participant.

Professor Storr's study is based upon extensive research in private papers, university records, and published materials. It is well-written and interesting, although it deals with a kind of material which in more pedantic hands could have degenerated into a hodge-podge of information and data. The problem which faced educators of the early 19th century was how to maintain the traditional curriculum and at the same time provide instruction in the new fields of knowledge, such as science and mechanics, which were rapidly expanding. Several alternatives were available, but by 1861 the issue had not been settled whether to have genuine graduate work or extended undergraduate work. As Professor Storr says: "The prewar reformers left a great deal of unfinished business, but they set the agenda for change."

F. C. H.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship. By FRANK FREIDEL. Boston: Little, Brown, 1952. 372 pp. \$6.

The first volume of an ambitious definitive biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt is aptly titled. The story of the future President is told up to the end of World War I.

As a young state senator, Roosevelt combined a flair for spectacular headline-making with a solid, intelligent interest in progressive legislative remedies for the economic problems of his constituents. These qualities were combined with a quick ability to estimate political situations, as best evidenced by his success in winning election from a traditionally Republican senatorial district.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, he still had the capacity to inspire the spectacular headline but also a willingness to listen to new ideas and to press for strength and revitalization of the comparatively weak American Navy. These two phases of young Roosevelt's early career take up the largest portion of the first volume of the biography. It is obvious that the apprenticeship was reflected in the later career of President Roosevelt as a leader in the economic revolution which accompanied his first two terms and in the military and economic upheaval of World War II.

Many interesting sidelights are revealed—such as the cordial relations between elder statesman Theodore Roosevelt and the young Democrat, a cordiality which apparently did not continue in later years with the Theodore Roosevelt family.

Mr. Freidel does not attempt to embroider his story with interpolations or too many interpretations, but he keeps it interesting throughout. Correspondence taken from the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park are his principal source material. Future volumes should be able to make greater use of the recollections of participants in the events.

FRANK E. SMITH

M. C., 3rd Mississippi

Ancestry of Richard Dorsey Morgan. By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY, II. [Philadelphia, 1953.] x, 160 pp.

That a carefully traced record of the ancestors of an American of early Colonial stock generally shows striking contrasts as regards the backgrounds of the various traceable forebears, is well illustrated in this book on the ancestry of Richard Dorsey Morgan of Delaware, compiled by the well known Delaware genealogist, George Valentine Massey, II.

In the male line Mr. Morgan is descended from Hugh Morgan, a Welsh Quaker who settled near Philadelphia towards the end of the 17th century. Early marriages of Morgan ancestors were with such Pennsylvania Quaker families as Woodruff, Gaskill, Griffith, and McCormick. It was not until the 19th century that a Morgan ancestor, Thomas Phillips Morgan, Jr.

(1853-1928), whose home was in Washington, D. C., married in 1874 a young Maryland girl, Edith May Johnson (1854-1940) of the historically prominent Johnson family of Southern and Western Maryland.

This lady was the daughter of Richard Dorsey Johnson (1820-1900) and his wife, Nancy Douglas Simms, and the great-granddaughter of Roger Johnson (1749-1831), the iron magnate of Frederick County, brother of Thomas Johnson (1732-1819) the Revolutionary Governor of Maryland, who it was that in the Continental Congress nominated George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies. Roger Johnson was also a brother of Joshua Johnson (1742-1802) of Maryland, United States Consul at London, 1790-1797, and the father of Louisa Catherine Johnson, wife of President John Quincy Adams. Mrs. Thomas Phillips Morgan's mother, Nancy Simms, was of the prominent Roman Catholic Simms family of Southern Maryland and she also had the blood of such other notable Catholic Maryland families as the Brents, Carrolls, Darnalls, and Digges. The section of the book relating to these families is of especial interest as it is so copiously illustrated with portraits of early 18th century forebears by such well-known early Maryland portrait painters as Justus Engelhardt Kühn and John Wollaston.

A step further back in the Morgan-Johnson line reveals the marriage in 1815 of an ancestor, Richard Johnson (1781-1839) to Juliana Brice Worthington Dorsey, and here we find well written sketches of the prominent old Maryland families of Dorsey and Worthington of Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties; also in this book are found notices of such distinguished Virginia Colonial forebears as the Lees, Corbins, and Ludwells, from which this branch of the Morgan family is descended.

This book, so carefully prepared, has an excellent format. The skeleton chart pedigrees accompany the sketches of each family written up by the author.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

The Hout Family. By MARGARET B. PITTIS. Cleveland: 1952. 638 pp.

Here is an attractively presented genealogy, showing abundant evidence of painstaking research. The book is well-arranged, with numerous illustrations, and the first three chapters are devoted to an interesting historical discussion of the environmental circumstances of the Hout family. It is somewhat distressing, however, that the compiler has devoted so much space to detailing the military achievements of the Houts, while neglecting, in many cases, to give any further details beyond mere dates. Miss Pittis' interpretation of things heraldic is also somewhat romantic, but as a genealogical narrative the book is good.

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

The Historical Society of York County

Beyond Horizons. By CARLETON MITCHELL. New York: Norton, 1952. 312 pp. \$3.95.

Life on sailing ships was always filled with hardships seldom encountered in these days and liberally sprinkled with danger. Within my own recollection, in the last two decades of the 19th century and the first two of the 20th, the shipping news was filled with marine disasters, often accompanied with heavy loss of life. Many of these occurred right in our own Chesapeake Bay, which we are apt to regard as a pleasant lake upon which to take a summer excursion. Much was done in the 19th century to ameliorate these conditions, but as long as sail was the only means of propulsion much of the hardship and danger remained. The uncertainty of the length of the voyage made fresh food almost impossible and the exhaustion of food and water supplies an ever present spectre. The helplessness of a sailing ship on a lee shore provided an element of extreme danger. How much worse conditions were in the 17th and 18th centuries is vividly portrayed in Carleton Mitchell's retelling of some of the histories of voyages in that era. The reader will be filled with admiration for the indomitable courage and dogged perseverance of those who opened up new lands to settlement and commerce by sailing *Beyond Horizons*.

WILLIAM C. STEUART

Freedom's Way. By THEODORA McCORMICK. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1953. 450 pp. \$3.50.

History hangs as becomingly from the charming shoulders of Caroline Matilda Carey as her "cardinal," the long red cloak with a surprise in the lining, which accompanies her from England to Maryland as a convict indentured servant, falsely accused of stealing the Queen's jewels, and recently reprieved from hanging. Her arrival coincides with reports of the disappearance of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark and younger sister of George III, leading to obvious speculation. More important, it coincides, too, with the rumbling beginnings of the American Revolution. Well-researched, centered in and around Annapolis with side trips to New York and Charles Town and flashbacks to England, the story counterpoints the grievances on both sides and accentuates the conflict of conscience confronting many loyal Tories who were also Americans. Famous names pass through these pages and the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, Maryland's version of the Boston tea party, is described in fascinating detail. Life on Duane's plantation "Pride" is minutely described, sometimes slowing the pace of the narrative but providing rewarding reading for everyone interested in this important, infrequently written-about period in our pre-Revolutionary history. Caroline Matilda is a triumphant heroine, with some humanizingly roguish lapses, and many of the lesser characters are equally well done.

JOY GARY

The Princess of the Old Dominion. By MARGARET DENNY DIXON. New York: Exposition, 1953.

In *The Princess of the Old Dominion*, Margaret Denny Dixon has recreated the story of the founding of Jamestown, Virginia. Her research has been careful and thorough and from a multitude of facts she has been able to build her personalities into three dimensional people. Since the book is an honest account of reality the men and women in it maintain their traditional characteristics. Ratcliffe and Newport are constantly engaged in evil scheming; Master Hunt is always the good and selfless clergyman; Pocahontas, the Princess, drifts in and out graciously saving lives and bringing food when the settlers are starving. Captain John Smith's qualities of courage and common sense make him, as always in this tale, the dominant figure among a group of men who seem incredibly impractical and contentious.

Mrs. Dixon makes one the irritated spectator of the jealousies, the quarreling, the mismanagement and treacheries of that settlement. She makes one wonder how the Virginia Company of London could have been so misinformed about the country they were trying to develop. How could they have been so stupid, have known so little about Indians as to send presents of a crown and a robe, a bed and bed-stead and ewer and basin to Powhatan?—Although Mrs. Dixon does not mention this, one has read that it was not only a ewer and basin but a complete wash-stand set with all the utensils of gold.

Gold! How pig-headed the gentlemen of the Virginia Company were in their insistent demands that gold be found willy-nilly and sent back to London. How foolish of them to have sent over so many "unruly gallants" who hadn't the slightest idea of how to engage in manual labor or even how to "cooperate with the group." Because of their drinking and dicing, Mrs Dixon tells us, several of these gallants managed to set Ratcliffe's cabin afire and so burn up all of poor dear Master Hunt's precious library.

Crops failed, rats ate the grain, selfish men stole for themselves food from the common store. Always in the forests in the background the Indians were a threat and a danger. There would be fighting and cruel deaths and then for a time peace.

It is a graphic and moving picture that Mrs. Dixon has presented of the Jamestown settlement.

THEODORA MCCORMICK DuBOIS

Historic Philadelphia. Edited by LUTHER P. EISENHART. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953. 331 pp. \$4 (paper), \$6 (cloth).

Under the generous auspices of the American Philosophical Society and the editorship of Luther P. Eisenhart, a group of notable scholars have contributed a series of essays to what amounts to a Festschrift to the city

of Philadelphia. This thick paperbound volume, which is quite reasonable in price, is in main devoted to the interests of architectural history with such notable scholars as Harold Eberlein, Agnes Gilchrist, Robert Smith, and Charles Coleman Sellers contributing papers. The book leans toward a scholarly audience and appropriately carries copious footnotes. However, the general reader will find much to intrigue and interest him, for the text is quite readable. Particularly worthy of mention is Gilchrist's continuing study of Strickland, the great American architect. She discusses his fine Exchange building. Those familiar with Sellers definitive work on Charles Wilson Peale will read with interest his story of that artist's museum, and Robert Smith's "Two Centuries of Philadelphia Architecture" will intrigue many in to looking at buildings with more than just a casual glance. Those with other interests will find fare in Arthur Quinn's article on the theatre in Philadelphia, in Henry Allen's work on the Franklin Institute, and in Wainwright's contribution on 18th century fire insurance companies. With such a series of papers, a project as this could easily lack continuity, but all is held in excellent order by a map, which is the result of Grant Simon's Herculean efforts toward a complete cartographical survey of the City. Throughout the book there is no lack of illustrations, some pages having two or three fine cuts.

RICH BORNEMANN

Baltimore Museum of Art

Writings on American History, 1948. Compiled by JAMES R. MASTERSON and ANNA MARIE KANE. Washington: 1952. xxxiii, 462 pp. \$2.

At last this volume, the latest in a bibliographical series begun in 1904, is available to all interested in American history. Compiled by a competent editor and able assistant, the 1948 volume offers a comprehensive, annotated bibliography of "every book and article, however brief, that has any considerable value for study and research" from prehistoric times to 1945. Users will find this volume more compact, easier to use, and more effectively organized than previous ones. Marylanders will consult pages 182-186 most frequently. It is to be hoped that sponsorship for the *Writings* newly assumed by the National Historical Publication Commission will assure the prompt appearance of future volumes.

Broadax and Bayonet, The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-60. By FRANCIS P. PRUCHA. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1953. xii, 263 pp. \$4.

Despite its subtitle this study is not "military history" in the traditional meaning of the phrase. It is rather an account of the non-military services and influences of the United States Army in the development of the

"Northwest frontier," which contained the area of present-day Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and northern Illinois. This area has been selected arbitrarily as a convenient and valid unit for a study of typical non-military contributions of American soldiers in the development of the West.

On the western frontier, according to Prucha, the Army's most time consuming, if not important, non-military activities included law enforcement, garrison construction, subsistence farming, and road building. More incidental perhaps, but more permanently significant in some respects, were scientific services rendered in the making of surveys and explorations and the recording of meteorological observations. As establishments requiring certain economic goods and services, the Army posts provided stimulus to frontier economic activity. As centers dominated by officers and their families possessing some of the social graces and intellectual attainments of a more civilized milieu, the posts also brought "touches of civilization" to wilderness life.

This book is a product of prodigious research in records of the War Department in the National Archives, manuscript collections in the custody of the Library of Congress and several historical societies, and published documentary sources. It is a significant contribution to the literature of the social and economic history of the West and in its own special field seems likely to remain for a long time the most useful and authentic work.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

National Archives

Winchester: The Gun That Won the West. By HAROLD F. WILLIAMSON.

Washington: Combat Forces Press, 1952. xvi, 494 pp. \$10.

Firearms played an important role in the conquest of the American frontier. Not only was the pioneer forced to seek his food and clothing through his ability as a marksman, but he was also dependent upon his weapon to protect himself and his family from attack. The possession of a dependable weapon was, therefore, of the utmost consequence. In the meeting of that need, the Winchester Repeating Arms Company occupied a conspicuous position, for without its famous product it is doubtful whether the winning of the West could have proceeded as rapidly as it did. It is that story which Dr. Williamson has painstakingly and carefully related in this, the only comprehensive history of the company and its development from 1850 to 1931.

The history of the Winchester organization differed little from that of other concerns during the period. This volume, however, tells in a convincing manner both the history of the company, the progressive development of its firearms, and the steps which resulted in its assumption of the indisputable leadership in the manufacture of repeating rifles.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Library of Congress

Centennial and Bicentennial—Nathaniel Rochester, 1752, Thomas Rochester Shepard, 1852. By CHARLES SHEPARD. Rochester, N. Y.: The Author, 1952. 16 pp. \$1.

A tribute to two men, one, a business man, office holder (at one time in Maryland) and founder of a city, the other a lawyer, author, teacher, and officer of the Federal government, this pamphlet gives the pertinent facts in the lives and careers of both men. The author, who is a descendant of Nathaniel Rochester through Thomas Rochester Shepard, has preserved in writing two of the little-known but none the less important makers of our history.

The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1741-1742. Edited by J. H. EASTERBY. Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1953. x, 620 pp. \$12.50.

Particular tribute to an editor who maintains standards of scholarship and an astonishing rate of productivity is in order with the appearance of this, the third volume of *The Colonial Records of South Carolina*. This volume, as full of interest as the first two, will be welcomed by every student of American colonial history.

Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Funerals. Copied by ANITA HOWARD. [Alexandria, Va., 1953.] 56 pp.

Here, in usable form (mimeographed booklet), are vital records from the archives of the Old Presbyterian Meeting House in Alexandria. The years covered are 1789-1861. Miss Howard, regent of the local D. A. R. chapter, accepts responsibility for the accuracy of the copy work.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

List of Militia and Oaths of Allegiance, June, 1775. Compiled by MRS. WILLIAM G. BUCKEY. Chestertown, 1953. 36 pp. plus index.

A Brief Account of the Indians of Delaware. By C. A. WESLAGER. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1953. 31 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ASAPH WARNER, SILVERSMITH

By GEORGE B. SCRIVEN

Chance curiosity about a reference in an old account book to the fact that Asaph Warner repaired watches¹ has led to the rediscovery of a hitherto unknown early Maryland silversmith who lived in Harford County. Asaph Warner (who married Ruth Ellicott) was one of a large number of men in the Warner and Ellicott families of English Quakers who provide middle-colony examples of what has sometimes been called "Yankee" ingenuity. In parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, both before and after the Revolution, if there was a need for someone to mend a watch, make a clock, fix a gun lock, do local metalsmithing in pewter, copper, or silver, run a store, build a water power mill or operate it, there was often a Quaker named Warner or Ellicott in the neighborhood who could do the job.

Asaph (sometimes spelled Aseph) Warner was born in Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on August 14, 1758, the son of Joseph and Ruth (Hayhurst) Warner.² When about twelve years of age he came with his parents and other relatives to the Darlington neighborhood of Harford County. A few years later he returned to Bucks County where he lived among the Warners who had stayed there. While in Pennsylvania he married Ruth Ellicott on May 16, 1781, and in 1785 moved back to Harford County where he lived to the ripe old age of 92. His shop was on his place, an 83-acre tract of land on the road between Mill Green and Dublin. This land which was part of a grant called "Clark's Demury in Antrim," is about a mile from Mill Green, and northwest of the valley where a small stream crosses the road. It was part of the land which Asaph Warner's father bought in 1775 from Moses Lockhart for £200 covenant money of Pennsylvania.

His father, Joseph Warner, who is described in one of his deeds as a yeoman, was a large land owner who operated a country store on his farm. Asaph's younger brother Silas also operated a store, probably in succession to his father. Asaph's eldest brother was Cuthbert Warner (1753-1838), a Quaker watchmaker and silversmith who is reputed to have been put out of meeting in Pennsylvania for making guns during the

¹ George B. Scriven, "Silas Warner's Journal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (September, 1951), 208.

² Harold W. Osler, *Warner Family Genealogy* (1935), pp. 7, 9.

Revolution.³ After the Revolution he moved to Darlington where he remained until 1799 when he went to Baltimore. Among the known pieces of Cuthbert Warner's silver is a spoon attributed to his Darlington period. His two sons, Andrew Ellicott Warner and Thomas Warner, who learned their trade from their father, were among the best known of early Baltimore silversmiths. Asaph Warner may have learned silversmithing while in Pennsylvania, or in Harford County from his brother Cuthbert.

The earliest known record of Asaph Warner's silverwork is contained in several pages of a shop ledger which show his dealings with James W. Hall during the years 1798-1802. These pages are filed, rather oddly, under "Genealogy-Warner" in the Harford County cabinets at the Maryland Historical Society. They show that Asaph Warner mended silver of many kinds and also made spoons ranging in price from 86½ cents up to four dollars each. They also show that like many early American silversmiths he not only repaired watches and mended clocks but did other metal working such as mending bells, bandboxes, door handles and locks, harness snaps, umbrellas, and gun locks. On occasion he even sharpened saws.

Asaph Warner was a contemporary of all of the other Harford County silversmiths. These were William Thompson (1774), Joseph Toy (working 1776-1795), Isaac Nicholas Toy (working 1790-1795), and William Wilson (working 1781-1829), all of whom lived in the Abingdon neighborhood.⁴

Mrs. Amy Warner Lackey of Cardiff, Maryland, a descendant of Asaph Warner through his son Silas, tells of a family tradition that Asaph Warner made six large tea spoons for his daughter Ruth Ann on which he engraved RAW in beautiful entwined letters, and six small spoons for his daughter Pamela which had PW in plain letters on them. One of the spoons which Mrs. Lackey had is now in the possession of Mrs. John Douglas, another descendant, who lives at Darlington. This one proved on examination to have Asaph Warner's punch mark AW on the back. This spoon is important for identification as it is known to have remained continuously among Asaph Warner's descendants, and not only shows that he punch marked some of his work with his initials, but shows a clear and authentic example of that mark (see illustration opposite page 221). The workmanship of this spoon and its "blocky" engraving makes it look more like 18th than 19th century work.

Asaph Warner's wife died early, and he continued to live at his home place with his two unmarried daughters Ruth Ann and Pamela, to whom he deeded the place in 1844 after becoming blind. The daughters operated a woolen mill which produced cloth and blankets. A page of their records show that Ruth Ann wove an average of six hundred and seven-teen yards of cloth annually from 1813 to 1827, for which she received payment at prices ranging from twelve to twenty-six cents a yard. The

³ J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths* (Baltimore, 1930), p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-252.

location of a woolen mill near the Warner home is shown on Martinet's 1878 map of Harford County.

Since it is known that Asaph Warner worked in the same shop for half a century it is possible, though not certain, that he made a large amount of silver, but so far only spoons are known. If he had dealings with other customers in proportion to those which the brief record shows that he had with James W. Hall, then he must have been doing a great deal of silver-smithing at the beginning of the 18th century.

FIRST THINGS FIRST *

The question has been asked of us many times, "How do I go about starting my family history." Naturally the answer to this question is involved and would take volumes to answer—and volumes have been written on the subject. But in spite of the ramifications of the subject and the highly technical material you may later take up, the very first step is to get down on paper every single thing you now know about your family.

Start with yourself as No. 1, your father as No. 2, your mother as No. 3, your father's parents as 4 and 5 and your mother's parents as 6 and 7. Put down the following facts as completely as possible:

Date and place of birth	Date and place of marriage
Date and place of death	To whom married and names of
Place of burial	parents of spouse
Various places of residence, occupation, public offices held, war records, schooling. Name of all children of each couple with dates and places of birth, death and residence	
Did they own land in any specific location.	

In other words, every single thing of interest about each person you can locate. Include great grandparents as far back as possible. Various agencies sell charts and family sheets that make it more or less easy to fill out a page on each person, but these are not absolutely necessary. You can figure out a method for yourself for keeping track of your information.

The average person will remember little he has been told about his grandparents and sometimes even parents. To get the data he wants he must consult his family archives. What are these? Practically anything which will give a name, a date, or a place. Was there a Family Bible? Did anyone keep a scrapbook of newspaper clippings and obituaries? Who has the old family pictures? These may be a gold mine for recalling names and dates. Are there any old letters, deeds, discharge papers pushed back in a trunk? What about the marriage certificate which used to hang on the parlor wall? We know of an instance where a half burned sampler

* Reprinted, with permission, from the *Forum Exchange* (September, 1952), a news-leaflet published by the Genealogical Forum, Portland, Oregon.

worked by the person in question gave her name, age at the time of working, and the place where she resided. It was embroidered in 1844! Are you close to the cemetery where your family is buried? Make a trip and look at the headstones—you may locate that elusive date and other interesting information.

It is obvious you will want to consult all the older members of the family, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, for their memories of places and happenings. If they live far away letters will be necessary. This form of letter writing is an art which takes not so much of literary ability as it does of ingenuity, thoughtfulness, kindness, and deep down consideration of the other person no matter who he may be. *Be patient*, this other person may be willing to give you information but may have no idea of what you want or how important a date may be to you. It may take several letters to bring out the exact data you want. *Be specific*, many find short uninvolved questions easier to answer and some find a simple questionnaire beyond their comprehension. Sometimes you may have to use association to bring out information such as "How old were you when such and such a thing happened." But you want their information and it will pay you to be just as tactful in a letter as if you were talking to your grandmother face to face.

Make notes on everything said or written—they may prove to be clues—but make certain to verify, as time goes on, each family tradition. One incident here is enough. We have a letter from an elderly lady in which she mentioned that her mother's father owned slaves and set them free at his death. No proof has been found of this tale but there is ample proof that her father's mother's people owned slaves and set them free. Memories often play tricks like this.

Do you have a relative whose name you may know and the region where he lives—but no specific address. Libraries, chambers of Commerce, and telephone companies in medium sized and larger cities have telephone directories or county directories. A look at these books may reveal the address you want. If the directory for the town wanted is not available—try writing to the public library in the town in question. Always send a stamped self-addressed envelope and write on a sheet large enough that the answer can be jotted down on the lower half of the letter. The answers come prompter if you make it easy for the other person to reply.

If it is just a small place, the postmaster will probably forward a letter. In small places, also, you can ask a postmaster if any members of such and such family are still living there—in case you do not know the names of the living members of the family. Many times you will receive friendly help.

But sometimes none of these methods work and you still would like to contact relatives who lived at a certain place at a certain time. Try an ad in a local paper asking that anyone knowing the whereabouts of the descendants of the person in which you are interested contact you. A small ad can be a paying investment. How do you find the name of the newspaper? You can either write to the post-office or public library in the community in which you are interested or you can consult the following book: N. W.

Ayer & Son's *Directory—Newspaper and Periodicals*, (1952). This book gives name of all newspapers published in the United States along with the names of their editors and when established.

"*Macaroni*"—In connection with the query of Prof. Guiseppe Prezolini on the use of the word "macaroni" as applied to Maryland Troops,* I have the explanation he requires.

In the eighteenth century macaroni was first introduced into England and it became such a craze that all things were made and done "a la macaroni." This gave birth to a new style of dress for men and all who adopted the shorter coat and hair style and wore lace instead of the stiffly starched collars and cuffs were called "Macaronis." This soon developed into the use of the word for any new, gay fashion introduced at that period. When "Yankee Doodle stuck a feather in his hat and called it macaroni" it meant that he was right in style with the latest fad. The modern Englishman uses "wizard" and "smashing" in quite the same manner today. A "wizard of a hat" today would have been a "macaroni of a hat" in that period.

A full account of this fashion may be found in "Annals of a Yorkshire Family." At the moment, I have no further information as to the author and publisher. This is a two volume set which a friend has in his library. In the event that the Professor Prezzolini cannot find a copy, I am quite sure this set may be had at about ten dollars.

C. WILLIAM EDELEN

49 Chelsea Ave., Newark 6, N. J.

Virginia Historical Society—John Melville Jennings is the new director of the Society, succeeding the late Rev. William Clayton Torrence. Mr. Jennings, who joined the Society staff in 1947 as Librarian, has just completed a tour of duty with the U. S. Navy.

The new editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is William M. E. Rachal, formerly of the History Division, Virginia State Library.

Quaker Neck, Kent County, Maryland—The undersigned and several others are engaged in constructing a map of Quaker Neck which will show the boundaries of the original tracts. It is hoped that the map can be published and with it a brief text containing notes on the original patentees and other data of interest. The project has been undertaken as a contribution to the history of this section of Kent County.

Those having any plats or surveys of lands in Quaker Neck or any other

* *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII (June, 1952), 171.

information that would help in carrying the project to completion are requested to communicate either with the undersigned or with Mr. H. Norman Grieb, "Clark's Conveniency," Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland. Mr. Grieb may also be reached by telephone in the evenings or on Sundays at Chestertown 535 J 12.

BARTUS TREW

72 Wall Street, New York 5, N. Y.

Gunston Hall—In connection with the restoration of Gunston Hall, home of George Mason, the regents are searching for pictures of the house as it was in bygone years. Mrs. Thomas R. Cox, Chairman of the Research Committee, has asked the Society to aid in establishing what manner of dependencies flanked the main house, the plantation buildings that were there and where located. Gunston may appear in the background of portraits of the Mason family, or in sketches made by artists and other visitors. The address of Mrs. Cox is 983 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

District of Columbia—The current volume of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Vol. 50, 1948-1950) contains these articles of Maryland interest: "Stagecoach Days in the District of Columbia," by Oliver W. Holmes; the remarks of George L. Radcliffe at the 55th anniversary meeting; "President Lincoln and His Assassination," by Richard Mudd; and "The Militia and Volunteers of the District of Columbia, 1783-1820," by Frederick P. Todd.

Broome—Need any unpublished information on the following:

1. Parents of Barbara Brome or Broome who m. Philip Dorsey (Jr.) of Calvert Co. ca. 1784; her mother a Brooke according to family tradition. (Children: Martha D. Sutton, Judge Walter Dorsey, Dr. Wm. H. Dorsey, Ann D. Carr, Dorcas D. Simmons, Barbara D. Lyles, Rebecca Dorsey.)
2. Wives of Thos. Brome and Thos Brome, Jr., of Calvert Co., named in 1783 tax list.
3. Parents of Wm. Dawkins Broome and Alex. Broome, listed in Calvert Co., census of 1800.
4. Maiden name of wife of (John) Hooper Broome, Calvert Co., and names of children; he died ca. 1792-8.

Mrs. WILLIAM HENRY PITCHER
215 Longwood Road, Baltimore 10.

Brookhart—Request information re American ancestry of Judge David Brookhart (ca. 1795-1859) recorded as residing at Boonsboro from early youth to 1838 when he removed with family to Jefferson Co., Ky., remaining there until 1852, thence to Harrisonville, Mo. Married Theresa (or Teresy) Funk of Washington Co.

Brig. Gen. E. S. HARTSHORN

3133 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, 8, D. C.

Williamson, Rev. Alexander—Want to know date of marriage of Williamson (1727-1786) to Elizabeth (or Mary) Lyon of Balto. Co.; date of death of wife; also place of interment of each.

A. MCC. DUNLOP

3500 14th St., N. W., Washington 10, D. C.

COMMENT ON A RECENT REVIEW

DORSEY, *Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807.*

In his review of this work in the June issue (pp. 176-177) of this magazine, Mr. Forman says that for its author "to label the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church as those of Argall's frame church of 1617 is to repeat a time-worn and hackneyed printed error." This is definitely not "a hackneyed error," but the self-evident, incontrovertible truth. Since this slender foundation lies within the massive, buttressed, three-foot-thick foundation of the brick church of 1639, which can still be seen directly beneath the memorial church's walls, there is no other earlier structure to which this oriented, cobble-and-brick, church foundation can conceivably be ascribed than Argall's church of 1617, with which it agrees closely in width, its length being indeterminate.

The date 1699 for the Jamestown Church tower, which the reviewer impugns, is based on the only known documentary references to this tower, the James City Parish churchwardens' petition of May 17, 1699, "praying allowance from the Publick to help toward defraying the Charge of building a steeple" to this church, and Michel's description of it as having "a tower and a bell" in 1702. The building of the tower in the year when "Jamestown ceased once and for all to be the capital of Virginia" is very easily explained. Since it took from three to five years to complete a massive brick tower in early colonial times, this steeple must have been started not later than 1696, when there was not the slightest reason to believe that Jamestown would ever cease to be the colonial capital or its church the court church. When the colonial government was unexpectedly transferred to Williamsburg, after the Jamestown state-house fire of 1698, it left the James City vestry "holding the bag," in the form of an expensive and unpaid-for church tower.

As to the "nave foundation and tower" being "in one piece," General Yonge's careful drawing in his "Site of Old James Towne" shows that the tower foundation was entirely separate from and not even in line with that of the church, to which it was joined only at the connecting doorways, as in the case of the similarly separate tower added to the present Bruton Church in 1769. The only existing Virginia colonial church tower that was incontrovertibly original with the church, that of the Old Brick Church in Isle of Wight, has the front wall of the church forming the back wall of the tower, which is not separate as at Bruton and Jamestown. I believe the above is sufficient to meet the reviewer's objections.

GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON
Historiographer, Diocese of Southern Virginia

REPLY BY REVIEWER

The review indicated that Mr. Dorsey's text in part was not factual. The following should cover Mr. Mason's points: For evidence that the cobblestone footings within the Jamestown Brick Church of 1647 belonged *not* to Argall's, but to another, later church, the reader is referred to my *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Johns Hopkins, 1938), pp. 154, 160, 163. The impossible hypothesis that this is Argall's church is also discussed in my *Architecture of the Old South* (Harvard, 1948), p. 80. While today the tower stands apart from the reconstructed nave of the Brick Church of 1647, the *foundation* of the tower joins that of the church. The measured drawing in my *Jamestown*, illustrating this juncture, is the latest and most up-to-date archaeological drawing, made some thirty years after Yonge's plan. Even Yonge in his book admits that the tower because of its "brick bond" belonged to the Brick Church of 1647 and was "not materially injured" by the fire of 1676. As for the 1699 steeple, it was planned for the top of the tower. Apropos of this whole subject of interpreting colonial ruins, the reader is referred to page 82 of *Jamestown*, which outlines the necessary qualifications for the specialist.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN
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CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. HYDE, a Baltimore architect, is a zealous student of early Maryland history. He studied the Hook House decorations on a visit to England last year. ☆ Mr. BREWINGTON is an authority on the maritime history of the Chesapeake. Readers will recall his article on the Bay pilots in our last number. ☆ In the course of preparing a biography of Daniel Dulany, Mr. LAND has made an intensive study of colonial records. He teaches at Vanderbilt University. ☆ Mrs. QUINN, who last March addressed the Society on the subject of Madame Bonaparte, has contributed frequently to this and other historical journals. ☆ A former member of this Society's staff, Mr. WHITE is now employed in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. ☆ The ARENSBERGS, father and son, are lawyers in Pittsburgh. They have written of Governor Steven's old home now in their possession. ☆ Mrs. H. H. Arnold has permitted Mr. LYND to examine the papers left by her late husband, General Arnold, for the purpose of preparing a biography. The son of Air Corps Maj. Gen. William E. Lynd, he is a graduate of the University of California.

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